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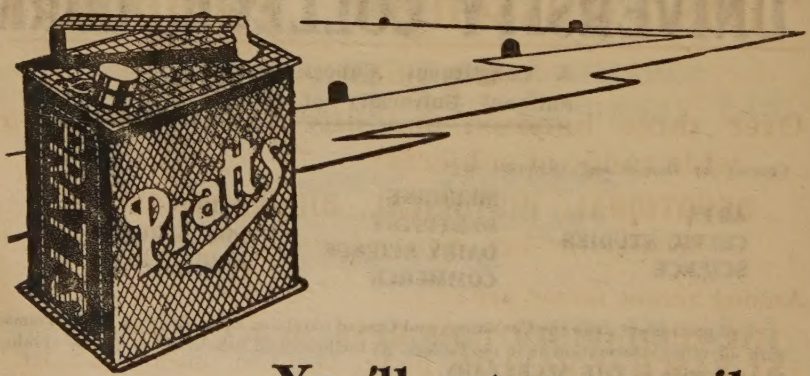

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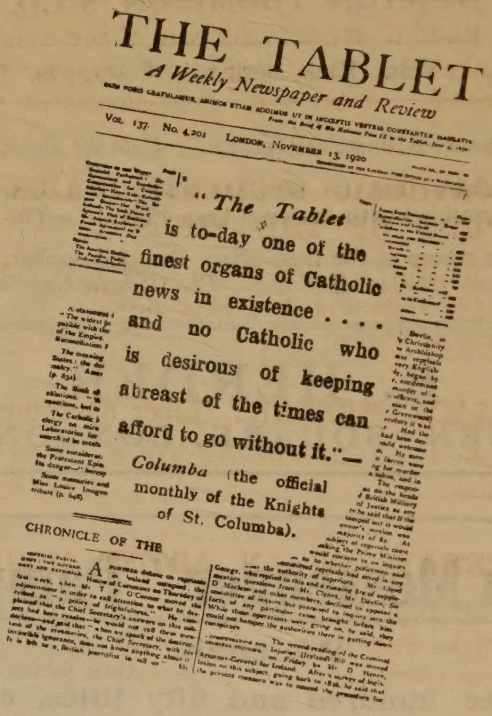
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STUDIES

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THE WINTER DAIRYING PROBLEM

BY HENRY KENNEDY, M.A., D.SC.

THE purpose of this article is to draw attention to an outstanding weakness of Irish as against Scandinavian agriculture and to submit some suggestions for improvement. The weakness consists in the almost complete absence of dairy production during the winter months, resulting in direct and indirect loss to the farmer and in a totally incomplete exploitation of the resources of the nation in land and labour.

The matter is first to be considered from the point of view of the farmer, who has to be convinced that there is a prospect of a reasonable return on his labour and outlay in the direction suggested. It is extraordinary how lightly it is assumed that winter dairying is impracticable and uneconomic here, though it is current practice in Denmark, Sweden, Finland, etc., notwithstanding the rigours of winter climate in these countries and the fact that they serve the same markets as we do.

A little thought and an elementary acquaintance with modern knowledge of animal nutrition will render the problem clear and will show the conditions under which winter production of milk is profitable. In order to maintain body weight and vital processes it is essential that a cow should get a certain amount of food per day. The amount has been measured with scientific accuracy. If the animal does not get this food, it has to draw upon its body fat and flesh to maintain life. Semi-starvation, of which there is too much evidence during winter and early spring in this country, results in an emaciated animal and, as in the case of ill-nourished human beings, leaves the victim especially subject to disease.

In the writer's opinion the most essential factor in raising Irish agriculture to the position which it should occupy is the conservation of adequate reserves of nutritious winter food for animals, and suggestions for improvement in this direction will be submitted later. But even as things are at present, let us examine what is involved in producing winter milk. As a practical example, take three farmers, A, B, and C, with equal numbers of cows of equal quality :—

A is a farmer who allows his cows to dry up when grass disappears in the autumn, and fails to provide adequate maintenance food, with the result that the cows calve down and start production the following spring in an emaciated condition, so that in the season of plenty much of the fat which should go into the pail goes on the animal's back.

B is a farmer who also allows his cows to dry out in the autumn, but takes care that during the winter they receive adequate food in the form of hay and roots to maintain their body weight, so that they come into production in good condition. There is no question that B is the better farmer and will have the better financial results.

C is a farmer who, when the grass fails and production tends to fall in the autumn, feeds his cows for milk production with concentrated foods over and above the maintenance requirements, which are the same in his case as with farmer B. He feeds, however, as his Danish competitor does, systematically applying the results of experimental research. These results tell him that to produce a gallon of milk there is needed a certain quantity of food over and above maintenance requirements, and this quantity is needed for each and every gallon which the cow produces. In order to carry out this feeding intelligently he has to use the scales at the feed end and at the yield end. Now we have the calculation. As an example of a ration for a gallon of milk take one pound of

ground nut-cake and three pounds of oats. This ration contains the nutrients which have been proved necessary by experiments, the results of which are accepted and carried out in the best farming practice all over the world.

At present prices this outlay represents slightly over one penny for the cake and under twopence for the oats. Therefore the cost of the food requirements for the gallon of milk is threepence. Even at the present depressed creamery prices the gallon of milk, taking into account the value of the skim, is worth 5½d. The extra labour in feeding and housing over B's case is negligible, and in a country of family farms the labour of milking and delivering to the creamery is not appreciable. If C produces his oats and markets it through the cow, he gets for it 14s. per cwt., and he has only a month to wait for his return.

Surely this is an unanswerable argument for winter dairying by a farmer who is prepared to use the scales intelligently. It proves that if dairying is carried on, it is carried on more profitably if the cow is rationally fed for production during the winter.

The basic maintenance food in this country will, according to present practice, be hay and roots, and in the purely pasture areas hay alone, care being taken to provide a laxative element in the ration, such as beet pulp, molasses, or linseed cake, to maintain the animal in healthy condition. While concentrates may be taken as of equal cost in this and other countries, in regard to the main basic winter food (hay), we are unquestionably at a disadvantage with our continental rivals owing to the difficulty of hay-making in this uncertain climate. Also, it is probably true that, in the case of very high yielding cows, hay alone could not be given for maintenance without depressing the yield, owing to the fact that the cow can only deal with a limited bulk of material ; if given enough inferior hay for maintenance requirements,

it cannot deal with adequate concentrates to reach her full milking capabilities.

Unfortunately, no accurate experiments have been made on the nutrient value of hay in this country, though it is understood that this all-important work is under way at the Albert College, Glasnevin. But it is undoubtedly true that the *average* over a number of years is of very inferior feeding value compared with the clover hay of Denmark, cured without our weather problem; so that accepted figures of hay food values based on Danish and Swedish experiments are worthless when applied to a large percentage of the Irish crop in any year, and to the greater part of it in a year like the present.

Too little attention has been paid to the colossal loss annually entailed in hay-making under our weather conditions, the greater part of which is unavoidable whatever skill the farmer may show. It would not be overstating the matter to say that there is an *obvious* average loss of 25 per cent. of good feed. This loss over the 5,000,000 tons produced annually reaches a startling figure in money value. The fact is we produce the best grass in the world and probably the worst hay. The almost continual rainfall is responsible for both. A French writer refers to hay-making, even under the more favourable conditions prevailing in France, as a "primitive and barbarous practice, which has not altered since the first ages of humanity." If we have unique climatic advantages in regard to the production of natural grass, it is not fitting that, in an era of scientific achievement, we should sit bewailing the circumstances which render its harvesting difficult, but rather we should approach the problem in the light of modern knowledge, so that even the rains of this year would be hailed as a blessing and not as a curse.

The whole trend of recent developments in respect of breeding animals for high milk production or early beef production puts a premium on concentrated and highly digestible, as against coarse and innutritious,

fodders. In this country we are seriously handicapped in this direction. The area under the plough and producing grains or root crops is lower than in any country of Europe, while the surplus grass preserved as hay is on the average but a very low quality fodder. These facts are primarily responsible for our short productive season in respect of dairy and beef products. We must remedy this state of affairs, if we are to intensify production.

Under our farming system the first essential is a reform in our methods of exploiting pasture-lands. There is nothing with which nature is so generous to us and nothing in the use of which we are so profligate. Recent researches in Cambridge University have shown that young grass is a highly digestible food which has, reckoning dry matter values, a food-worth equal to linseed cake; but if the grass is allowed to go to seed, its digestibility and feeding value are seriously impaired. From this has developed the new method of rotational grazing by which the grazing is controlled in such a way that the grass is maintained at its highest feeding value.

Work towards controlling the preservation of this feeding value for use during the winter—or indeed during periods of grass shortage due to drought or other causes—has taken two directions. The first is artificial drying. Grass cakes have been prepared, and their feeding value as proved by feeding experiments have been found unimpaired by the process. Investigations on grass-drying are being made in many parts of the world; but as far as they have gone, they seem to call for a capital expenditure which would make this method of preservation impracticable for our small farmers.

The second method of preservation is the storing of the freshly cut grass in silos. Fortunately, considerable research on this question has been made in recent years in many countries, and a most valuable addition to the knowledge of the subject has resulted from Professor Drew's investigations in the Albert College. Cambridge

and German investigations have proven that, while there is a certain loss of food material arising from fermentation, etc., equal quantities of silage and of the material from which it is made contain approximately equal food values both in respect of protein and total starch values. It follows that winter forage preserved in this way has a food value comparable with the grass from which it is produced. In the Glasnevin experiments this is borne out by the chemical analysis of the grass and silage. Here we have a method of conservation which fulfils all the conditions for an intensification of production; for it gives a fodder which continues over the winter the conditions of summer pasture, with the elimination of coarse indigestible material useless for productive purposes.

A 1,000 lbs. cow needs for maintenance per day 6 lbs. of starch-equivalent containing 0·6 lb. of protein, and the production of each gallon of milk necessitates an additional food consumption of 2.5 lbs. starch-equivalent containing 0.6 lbs. protein. The annual requirement for maintenance is, therefore, 2,190 lbs. starch-equivalent containing 219 lbs. protein equivalent. The requirement over this for the production of 800 galls. of milk is 2,000 lbs. starch-equivalent. These figures are quoted to put clearly the expense of keeping the milk factory, *namely the cow*, in existence, and they emphasise the folly of closing down the factory for four months.

Taking the value of grass deduced from the Cambridge experiments as having a starch-equivalent of 20 containing a protein equivalent of 7, and allowing a wide margin of safety in respect of the somewhat more advanced condition of grass cut for silage, it will be admitted that a starch-equivalent of 15 and a protein-equivalent of 2.5 as the feeding value of grass silage must be regarded as a conservative estimate. It is well within the limits suggested by researches on grass silage in Germany. For example, at the Dairy Institute in Kiel the conclusion was reached that 1 lb. of good silage produces as much milk

as between 2 and 3 lbs. of turnips. Assuming this value, maintenance will be provided for by 40 lbs. of silage per day and each gallon of milk by 16.6 lbs. of silage. A cow, therefore, can be maintained and produce a gallon of milk on a daily ration of 56 lbs. of silage. French and German work on the subject suggests, in a ration for cows, the use of 30 kg. or 67 lbs. of silage; so it is to be presumed that a cow can deal with that quantity of this forage. A ration of 65 lbs. of silage would provide for maintenance and a yield of $1\frac{1}{2}$ gallons per day, it being assumed that suitable concentrates will be used to take care of higher yields. For 200 days' winter feeding, maintenance and the production of 300 gallons will be provided for by 200 x 65 = 13,000 lbs. of silage—the produce of 0.6 of an acre, assuming the Glasnevin value of 10 tons of silage to the acre, a yield which could certainly be reached and even surpassed on our good dairy lands.

A recent issue of *The Dairy Farmer* of New Zealand, where the practice of grass silage conservation is making very rapid development, gives the experience of a practical farmer, bearing out the points which are being emphasised in this article. A shorthorn cow was put on a bare paddock in mid-winter and given all the silage she would eat, the silage being made from young grass cut in the leafy stage. In twenty-four days she ate an average of 80 lbs. of silage per day and gave a steady yield of milk averaging 30.7 lbs. per day, while her condition improved during the period.

The basis of winter milk production must be a cheap, nutritious and palatable roughage, which can provide for maintenance of the dairy animal and for at least part of her production. As stated before, there are no figures for the food value of average Irish hay, but it is extremely doubtful if a very large percentage is value for more than a starch-equivalent of 20. To maintain its body weight from this material a cow has to consume 30 lbs., leaving the animal little room for anything else. In Denmark the

roughage consists of enormous quantities of root crops and excellent clover hay, and in regard to the curing of the hay it must be borne in mind that the rainfall in that country averages only 20 inches, while in Ireland it averages 40. Danish scientists put the food value of 2½ lbs. of their hay as equivalent to one pound of barley. This gives the starch value of Danish hay as slightly over 28. The hay, owing to its leguminous nature, is especially rich in protein and calcium. Maintenance of a 1,000 lbs. cow would be provided by 21 lbs. of hay, and maintenance and 1½ gallons of milk by 21 lbs. of hay and, say, 48 lbs. of roots. As the hay is of high feeding value, the bulk of this ration is such as to leave adequate room for the concentrates essential to higher production.

In the dairy sections of the United States the basic materials for milk production are nutritious maize silage and alfalfa hay. In a recent publication the Professor of Dairy Farming in the University of Illinois describes the results of his "most milk per acre demonstrations," in which he set out to see what could be done in the way of milk production by growing highly nutritious forages on the farm and practically eliminating concentrated food. The crops were corn silage and alfalfa hay, and on these feeds alone cows produced over 800 gallons per annum. It can hardly be doubted that equal or better results can be produced in this country with pasture and grass silage.

The next point to consider is the capital cost of the silo and the labour requirements of this method of forage conservation. With regard to the first, interest will naturally cease in the farmer's mind if the problem is presented to him as necessitating a tower silo with tractor and blower, involving capital outlay which in these times is out of the question. But that such elaborate plant is not essential is proved by experiments in many European countries and in New Zealand, where equally good results are obtained by simple concrete constructions from 6 to

10 feet high, a usual form being a silo partly under and partly over ground with simple arrangements for drainage.

As regards labour, the proposals are specially attractive. Instead of the peak necessitated by crowding the fodder harvest into the few fine days we get in June and July, the work is extended from the time of the first cutting towards the end of May to the last cutting at the end of September or the beginning of October. German economic investigations into the problem are very emphatic on the favourable effect of the silage system in smoothing out labour requirements.

The writer has heard it seriously argued that good hay can be made in any year in which it is possible to make good silage. In answer, it seems scarcely necessary to draw attention to the fact that good haymaking involves the reduction, in the shortest possible time, of the water-content of plant tissues from 75–80 per cent. to (say) 18 per cent. in a country where, even when there is no precipitation, the relative humidity is always high; while the making of good silage involves the storing of the grass direct from cutting in the absence of serious drenching by rain. The two problems have no analogy.

The subject is next to be considered from the point of view of the farmers' community enterprises—the creameries. The disparity in price of Danish and Irish butter, assuming equal efficiency in marketing, is due to (1) the fact that, owing to forty years good business on the manufacturing and commercial sides, there has been created an enormous goodwill for Danish produce, so that there is a regular outlet week by week for practically the whole of the produce; (2) the existence of an alternative market on the continent, which causes seasonal scarcity in the main market; (3) the regular weekly supply, winter and summer. The first and third points are obviously closely interrelated, and it is undoubtedly true that Danish agriculturists regard the steady all the year round production as a first essential to maintaining

their unique hold on the market. The normal seasonal variations in production of Irish butter are illustrated in the following figures for 1929 :—

Month	Quantity	Percentage of Annual Production	Month	Quantity	Percentage of Annual Production
	tons	per cent.		tons	per cent.
Jany. ...	430	1·2	July ...	5,325	15·2
Feb. ...	385	1·1	Aug. ...	4,930	13·9
Mar. ...	1,030	2·9	Sept. ...	4,370	12·4
April ...	2,185	6·2	Oct. ...	3,740	10·6
May ...	4,395	12·4	Nov. ...	2,200	6·2
June ...	5,495	15·6	Dec. ...	815	2·3

The difficulty of the marketing problem which this variation presents is obvious. Contrast with our position the following *export* figures for Denmark in 1929 :—

Month	Quantity	Percentage	Month	Quantity	Percentage
	tons	per cent.		tons	per cent.
Janv. ...	12,400	7·8	July ...	14,200	8·9
Feb. ...	11,400	7·2	Aug. ...	15,200	9·5
March ...	12,100	7·7	Sept.	11,900	7·4
April ...	14,200	9·0	Oct. ...	12,000	7·5
May ...	15,100	9·5	Nov. ...	13,100	8·2
June ...	14,800	9·3	Dec. ...	12,600	8·0

The ratio of highest and lowest monthly production in the Saorstát is 14 : 1. The figure for Denmark, taking home consumption into account as well as the export figures, is 1·3 : 1. This uniform production is a truly remarkable achievement.

To the economy of the individual creamery the importance of the increase of supply by greater winter production is made clear by the following facts, which

may be regarded as typical of milk supply variation over the year to a creamery in the rich dairying districts. In poorer areas the situation is worse. The total annual production is about 180 times the figure for the peak day. The buildings, plant and staff have to be based on the peak day's supply—but the total output is only 50 per cent. of the possible. It is the same with the creamery as with the cow: the fixed charges are paid, but the factory is not worked to capacity. An accounting investigation made in the case of such a creamery—the annual milk supplies of which were, approximately, 2,500,000 gallons—shows that an increase of 50 per cent. in the supply without increasing the peak would result in a saving of over 3s. per cwt. or 15 per cent. in the average cost of manufacture. Putting it in another way: if the standing charges were paid on the basis of the existing supply and the actual extra operating costs only charged to the winter supply, the winter produced butter could be subsidised to the extent of approximately 10s. per cwt.

These are very impressive figures in times of stress and difficulty. There is another point which must be borne in mind—namely, that in current practice the cow goes suddenly out of production at the time when she is at the most efficient stage of butter fat production owing to the increase of butter fat percentage in the milk as the lactation period advances. Finally, as subsidiary advantages of winter dairying, account must be taken of the extra supplies of skim milk, the most valuable food there is for pigs and poultry.

Dairying is a traditional industry in this country, and should be able to meet all competition. But if it is to meet all competition, attention must be directed towards cutting costs of production on the farm and in the factory. In so far as crops are grown to provide food for animals rather than for direct human consumption, the choice of crop should be made, if farming is to be intensified, as it must be in a land of small farmers, so as to produce the

maximum amount of food reckoned on a dry matter basis at a minimum cost. It can hardly be questioned that, in the rich pasture areas of this country, it will be hard to beat grass carefully cultivated, well fertilised, and properly preserved for winter use. The dry matter yield of 2½ tons of nutritious food in Glasnevin is very convincing. The same is true in high rainfall areas of poor land and in much of the poorer mountain land. In the tillage areas the Danish system of extensive growth of root crops is still to be encouraged, though even here better results would be obtained by turning some of the meadow grass into silage. It has been said that grass is regarded not as a crop but as an accident, and certainly it is true that it receives scant attention on the whole. With modern knowledge of its care and cultivation its output can be very substantially increased for profitable production; and it must be remembered, from the point of view of useful employment, that a dairy farm in the pasture areas and on the lines suggested (with the proper quota of pigs and poultry to use the skim milk) is a unit giving scope for intensive and profitable employment. Incidentally the extension of winter production in these areas would provide a very desirable market for the surplus grains from the tillage areas.

What has been said about dairying is equally true in connection with the raising of beef cattle, which also suffers from the want of nutritious winter food. The remedy is the same.

The point of view expounded in this article is not novel. Winter production in settled dairying countries is the rule, not the exception. With regard to the suggestions on the conservation of nutritious winter forage, there is a wide field of research and practice from which to draw—in Germany, France, Holland, New Zealand and other countries. It is good management to see that the cow and the creamery are worked to capacity, and it is good farming to work with rather than against climatic conditions.

HENRY KENNEDY.

THE FUNCTION OF POETRY ACCORDING TO ARISTOTLE

BY W. F. TRENCH, LITT.D.

IT is a familiar observation that doctrines ostensibly based upon Aristotle's *Poetics* hampered art in an age when poetic form tended to formalism. Aristotle however was not responsible for some of the doctrines then fathered upon him. And modern students of his fragmentary work have found it replete with thoughts which are of no merely historic interest. But there is that about the work which shows that it was not intended for publication, and which rather (in Professor Gilbert Murray's words) "suggests the manuscript of an experienced lecturer, full of jottings and adscripts, with occasional phrases written carefully out, but never revised as a whole for the general reader." It follows that there may still be scope for investigation and reflection respecting Aristotle's aesthetic philosophy.

A question with which he naturally concerned himself was that of the effect produced upon the soul by music or poetry. For there are two questions of equal and of equally fundamental import in relation to fine art. The one may be put thus: wherein consists the artist's need of art—what urges him to create—what is the value of such production to him? The other question relates likewise to value, and is this: wherein consists the observer's need of art, wherein the worth of the artistic product to him? Ignoring now Aristotle's treatment of the former, I propose to deal with his treatment of this latter question.

First when he was considering music, the question presented itself: what is the good of it—how does it contribute to well-being? The answer which he found

was that it does so in certain obvious ways (" relaxation " is a good, " intellectual enjoyment " is a good), and in one way not obvious—namely in the " *katharsis of emotions*." This phrase he promised to elucidate later, but in none of his published work did he do so. It recurs in the *Poetics*, where the function of tragedy is briefly and without amplification stated to be " through pity and fear to accomplish its katharsis of these emotions," (or if " of suchlike emotions " be preferred as translation, it makes no real difference, seeing that he six times repeated " pity and fear " as being what he had in mind). But what did he mean ? Butcher writes : " No passage, probably, in ancient literature has been so frequently handled by commentators, critics and poets." Similarly Mr. W. D. Ross, now Provost of Oriel, writes : " A whole library has been written on this famous doctrine." The thesis which I am setting out to prove is not merely that the interpretations offered by Aristotelian scholars have been inadequate, but that none of them has had any relevance at all to Aristotle's thought, which when apprehended will be found of such character as to justify fully his evident assurance that he was touching upon doctrine of fundamental significance.

When, in the time of the Renaissance, the *Poetics* was re-discovered, voluminous commentaries were written thereon. The imagination of the scholars of that age ran riot in attempts at explaining the " katharsis " passage. Some, horrible to relate, attributed to Aristotle the view that we were to get so hardened by the sight of human suffering in drama, that we should be able to pass it by unmoved when we met it in real life. I am told that great affliction has fallen upon Mr. X. : no doubt, say I, but what is this compared with the affliction of Oedipus ! Others maintained that the philosopher had before him merely this, that one would be so impressed, through drama, with the frequency of suffering that one would be in a position to console the afflicted with the

reflection which Hamlet's mother offered him in his sorrow: "Thou seest 'tis common." And then there were many scholars who declared Aristotle's meaning to be that passions were to be purified by being (somehow or other) purged of excess. Not at all, said others, he meant that passions must be purged away—the soul was to be purged of passions by the dramatic setting-forth of the ill results of passions. But some were able to point out that no tragedy could be said to exhibit the disastrous effects of pity: it must be that the purging was to be done by the arousing of passions in the observer's soul. Yet how should the arousing of passions purge them away? The question remained unanswered by the eighteenth century, when Lessing conjectured that Aristotle might suppose emotion to get exhausted by frequent excitation—it was an unpromising line of exegesis! Nor did the nineteenth century bring enlightenment. Bernays, most erudite, drawing support from some Neo-Platonists, revivified another of the Renaissance theories, so as to make criticism break away on a false scent again. Aristotle, according to this theory, was setting forth the doctrine that like cures like: it might be called homeopathy: as a cure for passion, he would administer small doses of passion. The philosopher, it was to be supposed, thought it would be well that I should be without pity and without fear, and so he recommended the excitation of these emotions in a small way through dramatic performances, as a means of getting rid of them. Nearly all the scholars went off on this therapeutic trail. Margoliouth, indeed, seems an exception, standing out against the homeopathic theory and denouncing Bernays as a very ignorant person; but he himself adopts the therapeutic explanation in another form.

Finally we have Bywater's scholarly commentary, in which the history of the interpretations is reviewed, and Aristotle's katharsis doctrine is reduced, alas, to this, that an occasional outlet for excitement would prove

innocuous, and that dramatic performances did not occur often enough to do any real harm! So this is to be the end of controversy; the discovery that the philosopher, when making the remark which was to cause so much throwing about of brains all through the centuries, had practically nothing in his mind. But the end is not yet; for the Oxford Press issues Bywater's translation with a preface (wholly admirable as might be expected) by Gilbert Murray, who, in the very act of extolling Bywater and without a hint that there is disagreement between them, does as a matter of fact cut away the roots of his interpretation of katharsis by a fresh and independent treatment of the doctrine along lines which Bywater has declared to be out of date. As for Butcher, he followed Bernays with his homeopathy; yet rightly feeling the poverty of the results to which this led, he tried hard to develop, upon a hint derived from some German scholars, an interpretation along totally different lines. It might be stated thus: tragedy is to purge the emotions of vulgarity by arousing them through ideal objects; I am to be lifted out of my petty woes, pity and fear being purged of their self-regarding quality, sensibility being freed from sentimentality. Expounded thus, the doctrine becomes the expression of a truth. Bywater mentions the theory, only to set it aside as not worthy of serious consideration. I cannot say how Butcher came to accept this theory and Bernays's as well, for the one is wholly incompatible with the other.

A survey of the theories advanced in explanation of Aristotle's words in the *Poetics* might be indefinitely prolonged;[1] but it is time to get back to Aristotle himself. Erasing from the tablets of our memory all preconceptions, let us hear the philosopher afresh. I have already referred to that earlier mention of katharsis which occurred

[1] Someone is sure to refer to Adam's note in his edition of *The Republic* (X. 605c—606d). I cannot digress to deal with it here. I hold that Aristotle did not *oppose*, but entirely *ignored*, as nebulous, Plato's notion of the Kingdom of God, as set forth in Book X.

in the *Politics;* and the passage (*Pol.* viii. 7) must now be given in detail. I cite from Jowett's translation :—

> Music should be studied not for the sake of one, but of many benefits, that is to say with a view to (1) education, (2) purgation (the word purgation we use at present without explanation, but when hereafter we speak of poetry, we will treat the subject with more precision); music may also serve (3) for intellectual enjoyment, for relaxation, and for recreation after exertion . . . . Some persons fall into a religious frenzy, whom we see disenthralled by the use of mystic melodies, which bring healing and purgation to the soul. Those who are influenced by pity or fear and every emotional nature have a like experience, others in their degree are stirred by something which specially affects them, and all are in a manner purged and their souls lightened and delighted.

That this passage has been grievously misunderstood, I shall show presently; but first I add a second translation of the latter part of it, because the rendering of Greek thought into English is not a matter of straightforward translation, as in the rendering from one modern language into another. The following is from the work of another eminent classical scholar, R. D. Hicks (*The Politics of Aristotle*, by Susemihl and Hicks. p. 610 *n.*).

> So too of necessity with those who are liable to pity and fear, and persons of emotional temperament in general, and with the rest of men in such measure as they are susceptible of this or that emotion; they have a like experience; they all undergo purgation of some sort and feel a pleasurable relief.

Hicks believes the philosopher's thought here to be a very foolish thought, but as regards the purport of the words he agrees substantially with Jowett.

The following points emerge. (1) A function of music, as also of poetry, is purgation (or katharsis), and the matter may be more readily explained when dealing with poetry. (2) Persons of emotional susceptibility may experience this beneficial purgation. (3) Others, too, may have their emotions aroused, and purged. (4) We see an instance of the purgation when the Dionysiac frenzy is cured by means of music.

This last point has been the guide for critics to further investigation; for it has been held to be a reminiscence of the teaching of Plato, who had once made reference in somewhat similar words to that phenomenon so familiar both to Euripides and to the philosophers. The passage in Plato reads as follows (*Laws* vii. 790-791, Jowett's translation):—

This is the lesson which we may gather from the experience of nurses, and likewise from the use of the remedy of motion in the rites of the Corybantes; for when mothers want their restless children to go to sleep, they do not employ rest, but, on the contrary, motion—rocking them in their arms; nor do they give them silence, but they sing to them and lap them in sweet strains; and the Bacchic women are cured of their frenzy in the same manner by the use of the dance and of music. The reason is obvious. The affection both of the Bacchantes and of the children is an emotion of fear which springs out of an evil habit of the soul. And when someone applies external agitation to affections of this sort, the motion coming from without gets the better of the terrible and violent internal one, and produces a peace and calm in the soul, and quiets the restless palpitation of the heart, which is a thing much to be desired, sending the children to sleep, and making the Bacchantes, although they remain awake, to dance to the pipe with the help of the gods to whom they offer acceptable sacrifices, and producing in them a sound mind, which takes the place of their frenzy.

Katharsis of emotions as it appears in these three cited passages, two from Aristotle and one from Plato, has a learned appendix devoted to it by Susemihl and Hicks. Here we read as follows (p. 641-647):—

Underlying this whole argument (Aristotle's in the *Politics*) is the analogy of the homeopathic treatment for bodily ailments in vogue among Greek physicians of the time. The strange nature of primitive remedies is what one might expect . . . . The fact that to cure madness the Greeks resorted to noisy excitement is beyond all doubt. . . . To the Platonic dialogues we are indebted for some of the most graphic touches, portraying various accompaniments of the weird scene of music and dance which was apparently far better adapted to produce madness than to take it away. . . . But the philosophic reflexions in which Plato himself

sums up the total effect, *Laws* 790C–791B, leave little more to be said. [Here follows the citation of the passage in Jowett's translation, as above.]

These words of the commentators require examination. The philosopher believes that unquiet babies can be rocked to sleep. The commentator holds that so strange a thought must be based upon some antique doctrine of homeopathy: the child's soul is agitated, and therefore the nurse agitates the child's body, and agitation expels agitation! The commentator really believes the principle to be the same as that on which I find Pliny's physicians prescribing dolphin's liver as a remedy for convulsions, because a dolphin's movements are convulsive. Again the philosopher says that mothers sing lullabies to stop the babies' crying, and this gives the commentators further evidence of the ancients' naive beliefs: the child makes a noise, therefore the mother makes a noise, and noise is expected to expel noise! The commentator believes the principle to be that upon which the physicians (according to Pliny) might prescribe, for the bite of a mad dog, the marrow of a hyaena; the creature's howl suggests mad dog.

Now the erudition of a Bernays or a Susemihl may well be one's envy and despair; but when the guttered candle of lucubration has flickered out, it is a mistake to be guided by them still, as on this point are Butcher and the rest. There ever lies an appeal from the ripest of scholarship to the living experience of men, women and children. The rhythm of the rocking, the melody of the lullaby, does actually, and not merely in the antique thought of Plato, lull the child to sleep!

It must be admitted that Plato's words are faulty in two respects. The fact is he is engaged in a twofold argument: he wants to prove the odd theory that perpetual motion is good for young children, and he wants to lead up to reflections on courage and cowardice. He therefore allows himself (or allows the Athenian who

represents him in the Dialogue) to play some dialectical tricks. First, his reference to fear, introduced for the sake of the courage and cowardice argument, is incorrect: in the case of the Corybantes, the neuro-psychic disturbance has (I think) no connection with fear; and in the case of the baby it has no necessary connection with fear, as it comes about through any one of a variety of different causes. Secondly, Plato knows well that both in the case of the babies and in that of the Bacchic women, it is not motion and sound as such that are curative, but rhythmical motion and musical sound; which he chooses to leave out of his argument, because it would be a hindrance rather than a help to him in setting forth that odd view about the educational value of perpetual agitation. In Aristotle it is not, of course, motion and sound that are represented as curative, but rhythm and harmony, as we have seen from his words.

The two cases adduced by Plato are truly analogous. The music whereby the Corybantic frenzy was rhythmically interpreted and ultimately subdued rose to violence of tone and gradually changed to calm; and in like manner, when a baby is in a frenzied agitation, the mother's rocking is conducted with violence and gradually changes to a gentle measure. Plato is not really out of touch with reality, as is the scholar who holds that the music was "far better adapted to produce madness than to take it away," and who certainly could prove upon general principles that the rocking and the lullaby are bound to keep the baby awake. I might add that Dr. Walter Starkie, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, tells me that having closely observed the Dionysiac attack in those countries where it is still a familiar occurrence, he is able to confirm the accuracy of Plato's account of it: there is always the musical interpretation of the successive phases of emotional or quasi-emotional agitation, rising to a vertex of frenzy, and thence following a downward curve to the purgation of emotion in the finally induced

serenity. This is the katharsis in its rudimentary form. A woman once said to me: "I do not fully understand my state of mind: you know I am in great affliction, and I find that dwelling upon my sorrows tends to atrophy of normal functions; then I listen to good music; I do not want amusement or distraction, yet I listen and it does me good; I am left with a certain feeling of peace, and am able to resume my duties." That again sets before us the katharsis in its rudimentary form.

It may be true, as conjectured by modern scholars, that Aristotle derived from Plato the thought on which he based his katharsis doctrine: but I say that it was that very simple thought that harmony is the cure for disharmony; distressing emotions are purged away by the healing power of music; peace of mind, rest of spirit, is induced by the rendering of experience in terms of rhythm and melody. In his mind that simple thought revolved and became transfigured into the fundamental principle of aesthetic, the essential function of music, poetry, tragic drama. Fortunately, his few words in the *Politics* enable us to trace the workings of his mind.

"Others in their degree," said he, "are stirred by something which specially affects them, and all are in a manner purged and their souls lightened and delighted." Susemihl and Hicks were offended at this saying, and that on two distinct grounds. First, the words make it clear that for Aristotle katharsis is an end; wherefore, holding that the text must be corrupt, they offer a "conjectural restoration," because, say they, "we require in the original text a statement that, regarded as an end of music, catharsis is only a means to one or other of these two ends" —"pure amusement" or "aesthetic enjoyment." They find the change necessary to make Aristotle's words conform to their interpretation of his doctrine. But even when "conjecturally restored," the text will not satisfy them, and they must charge Aristotle with confusion of mind; for they say, "to be quite accurate,

Aristotle should have restricted his remarks here to painful emotions"; whereas, clearly, he is referring to emotions which are pleasurable.

Yet in truth it is not the philosopher that has gone astray. What Aristotle is saying has nothing at all to do with what they suppose him to be wishing to say. He is saying that music has a double effect, in that it causes pleasurable excitation of feeling, and leaves one afterwards in a state not of excitation but of peace; wherefore music is beneficial both for persons in a state of distressful agitation and for others. This is the thought the further consideration of which would have taken him away from the subject in hand in the *Politics;* and he proposed to develop it in the *Poetics;* but so far as is known he never did develop it. Had he done so, the argument might have taken the following line:

"Music, Greek dancing, sculpture, lyric, tragic drama and the rest have a common function. Their function, or the effect to which they conduce in the soul, is twofold: the excitation of emotion and the purging away of emotion. The artist has so much more emotion than ordinary men, that we may sometimes declare that he 'has a touch of madness in him,' or that he becomes 'actually beside himself with emotion' (*Poet.* xvii. 2. Bywater's trans.). Through the work of art, the observer participates in the artist's emotional experience. This need not be dwelt upon; for everyone knows the emotional thrill occasioned by a work of art. Now we all have emotional experiences of our own, be they pleasant or painful. It is upon similar experiences that the artist confers form. Melody, harmony, rhythm, these are form. Passion is chaotic, but the artist being a creator turns chaos into cosmos: cosmos is form. The artist's perfect form gives (or his form gives in a measure which varies with its approximation to perfectness) a sense of satisfaction, repose to the mind; it brings the soul to a state of peace.

Peace is the purgation of passion: the purgation of passion is peace. In relation to every description of great art there are to be experienced in varying measure these two, on the one hand excitation, on the other hand the attainment of rest through form. The fine arts' rendering of experience in terms of form is beneficial to the soul; for on the one hand the soul may be in an abnormal state of unhealthy excitation, and the aesthetic experience will cure this, inducing serenity; or on the other hand it may be in an ordinary state of lethargy, in which case it will experience a like benefit, from the arousing of pleasurable emotions through harmony, and from the ensuing purgation of emotions; that is what we meant by saying that others, besides those who are in a state of perturbation, are stirred and are purged."

In some such form as that, the philosopher might have elucidated the doctrine which he so briefly enunciated in the *Politics*. Even if he were going no further, he would have been justified in emphasising the importance of this great truth, which might well have been treated by commentators as the very foundation-stone of an Aristotelian aesthetic. The lack of elucidation on Aristotle's part has led modern criticism to turn to Iamblichus, and to attribute to Aristotle eccentric and erroneous views, far removed from his true thought. It is a pity.

"Even if he were going no further," I said; but when writing the *Politics* he was already aware that as soon as he took up the subject of tragedy he would have to go much further. Very rich are the implications of his doctrine of katharsis as applied to the emotions of "pity and fear" aroused by the drama. In the *Poetics* he briefly mentions "the purgation of pity and fear" as the function of tragedy; and then passes on. We shall be keeping to his general line of thought if we suppose him to develop this doctrine as follows:

"Art, we have said, is a rendering of experience in

terms of form. Now the general principle which we have enunciated takes on a certain complexity when it is applied to tragic drama. For the experience with which we are here concerned is not, as for example in lyric poetry, a fragment of life : it is the totality of the issues of life and death ; it is human suffering and destiny. Therefore it is to life as a whole, to suffering and destiny, that the writer of tragedy must give form ; and this he can only do by conceiving of it as rational, as moral (*Poet.* ix., 11-12 ; xiii., 1-3). Pity and fear are aroused by the course of the action ; pity respecting sufferings and misfortune, fear respecting the issue. The purgation of these, so that we depart in a state of serenity or peace of mind, is accomplished only if in the issue the course of things, not in detail but regarded as a whole, is rationalized and destiny in some sense vindicated. If we find the drama asserting (as for instance in Aeschylus), in spite of many appearances to the contrary, that the gods in their infliction of suffering through circumstances and their control of destiny are just, the pity and fear excited are in the upshot purged away ; we have seen experience, which is chaotic, re-presented as cosmos, and we are at peace. If we have been given to realize that destiny is the necessary or probable outcome of character manifesting itself in necessary or probable actions, the pity and fear which have been aroused are purged away. But if, on the other hand, the hero's sufferings and doom appear to be the result of nothing but chance, we are shocked (xiii. 2), we must needs rail against fate, there is no purgation of the emotions excited ; and such drama is immoral (xxv. 20).[1]

" When we bring against such tragedy as the last-mentioned the charge of immorality, we are not, of course, to be taken as declaring that it altogether lacks artistic

[1] " Poetic justice," to which Aristotle objects as a " concession to weakness " (*Poet.* xiii.), is a cheap and unworthy way of securing the satisfaction which he regards as the proper end of tragedy.

worth, or that it altogether fails to purge the emotions. If a character is adequately and consistently represented in action on the heroic scale, we have in such representation the unity, the completeness, which has been postulated as requisite for a work of art. We are emotionally stirred by the action, and enjoy at its conclusion that rational satisfaction and calm which arise out of the contemplation of the artistic. Yet there will be something gravely lacking, and that something will be the katharsis of pity and of fear which is specific to tragedy. But, someone will ask, are we not introducing a consideration alien to aesthetic doctrine, in bringing forward any such charge as that of immorality ? This is by no means the case. For consider what we have said of the nature of tragic drama : its theme is human suffering and destiny ; wherefore it is to this that it must give interpretation, upon this that it must impose form, this that it must represent as rational—and rational, in this matter, is equivalent, manifestly, to moral. Otherwise we are left, at the conclusion, with no sense of order in human fate, so that our emotional nature remains perturbed for the lack of that sort of rational satisfaction which it is the peculiar function of tragedy to supply. In other words, what we miss, in the case under consideration, is that perfect katharsis which raises us to a philosophic level of understanding, and which tragedy—perhaps tragedy alone—should make available for us, according, at least, to that lofty conception which we have formed of the ideal nature of Greek tragic drama."

Perhaps it is not unreasonable to suppose the philosopher's exposition to proceed on those lines.

The function of art is the uplifting of the soul to the higher plane of serenity. It is sad to find Aristotelian scholars supposing that the mere restoration of equanimity after excitation must be in the philosopher's mind, as though the emotional experience of a work of art were to him of the same quality precisely as the emotional

experience of a horse-race. And how do they reply to the question: By what means—according to Aristotle—is the balance to be recovered? Bernays replies that emotional excitation administered in small doses was supposed by the philosopher to be medicinal. Lessing replies that the excitation of emotion, because it recurs frequently, will gradually wear it out. Bywater replies that this excitation, because it does *not* occur frequently, will prove innocuous, and may be useful as a safety-valve. What sort of answers are these? But let me re-state, as against all such—surely the matter is of great importance—what I am convinced that Aristotle is saying:—Actual experiences arouse in us pity and fear, often disturbingly, deleteriously: art may arouse in us the same emotions. Actuality leaves us thus deleteriously perturbed; art resolves the perturbation into peace. Actuality gives us the disparate, the inchoate, of the phenomenal world; art joins together the disparate in harmony, builds the inchoate into unity, because it deals with the universal, the abiding.

It seems necessary, in conclusion, to refer to *Samson Agonistes*. For in his preface Milton, desiring to call up Aristotle as chief witness for the defence of tragedy, offered to explain katharsis by a co-mingling of several mutually exclusive Italian interpretations. That he had no conception of any such interpretation as that which I have advanced, makes it of peculiar interest that his drama does exemplify the katharsis according to the interpretation here advanced. Bernays can cite *Samson Agonistes* to his purpose, making the "calm of mind" at the conclusion to be the medicinal effect of excitation of emotion; and as this is the ridiculous result of ignoring the context of the passage cited, he need not have been followed in this, as he has been, by the later Aristotelians.

First, *pity* is aroused by the contrast between the hero's record and his present situation. Soon *pity* is mingled with *fear*, for when Samson mocks Harapha we

feel that worse griefs must follow; and from the time when Samson is taken to the festal hall, *fear* is dominant. The end is not Samson's overthrow of the massy pillars, whereby he drags to death with him the Philistines; for that would be an exciting end, and the true end is the purging away of excitation. Manoa is to declare that "nothing is here to wail or knock the breast .... nothing but .... what may *quiet* us in a death so noble." Adequate self-realization having been permitted to the hero, a sense of satisfaction is induced. So much for the particular case. And then the Chorus is to declare that in the particular is mirrored the universal.

> All is best, though we oft doubt,
> What the unsearchable dispose
> Of highest Wisdom brings about,
> And ever best found in the close.

Hence the effect upon observers of the tragic action is that they are dismissed "with peace," "and calm of mind, all passion spent." For suffering has been seen to have significance, the high issues of life and death have been rationalized. The persistency, which neither blindness nor other adverse circumstance could quench, of this Hebrew-Christian poet's confidence in the victory of good, though it were through apparent defeat and death, represents a clarity of vision, or a moral strength, which belongs not to every dramatist. Yet it will not be denied that there is an ending proper to Greek tragedy which has affinity with the ending of *Samson Agonistes*, or that the effect of Greek tragedy upon the soul may be like that which Milton's Chorus declares to be produced upon the observers of the action. That effect is the purging away of pity and of fear.

W. F. Trench

PETER THE GREAT AND LENIN[1]

BY FRANCIS MCCULLAGH

IN the year sixteen hundred and ninety, when the Boyne water was carrying Ireland's blood crimson to the sea, the city of Moscow, at the other extremity of Europe, was witnessing feasts that were like battles and battles that were like feasts. Nothing so comical had been seen off the stage in Europe since the days of Heliogabalus, and during his march through Ulster, William of Orange may very well have been amused by the reports he heard of the fantastic doings in Muscovy, for that he did hear reports is fairly probable, since Peter the Tzar was a great admirer of the Dutch, while the Dutch, for business reasons, took much interest in Peter the Tzar.

Even at that time, when neither the Dutch nor the English were noted for their sobriety at table, Peter's orgies made Western Europe gasp. Only the men sat down to table; their womenfolk stood behind them and encouraged them to eat and drink; and the drinking always lasted till everybody was under the table except the gigantic Tzar, whose head for liquor was always of the strongest. The only one who approached the sovereign in his capacity for consuming vodka was (naturally) a Scotchman, one of Peter's generals, a Catholic and Jacobite called Patrick Gordon, who wins our respect by always refusing, even at official banquets, to empty his glass to "the glorious, pious, and immortal memory" of King William; but even this seasoned Scot was frequently confined to bed for a whole week after a feast with his imperial master. And there were other dangers besides

[1] *Peter the Great.* By Stephen Graham. (Benn. 1929. 21s.).
Pierre le Grand. Par Georges Oudard. (Plon. 1929. 16 fr.).
Lénine. Par Valeriu Marcu. (Payot. 1930. 30 fr.).
Memories of Lenin. By N. Krupskaya. (Martin Lawrence. 1930. 5s.).

the alcohol ; there were fireworks which the Tzar delighted to let off at table. At one wild carouse a rocket, exploding prematurely, blew off the head of a boyard. At another carouse Gordon's son-in-law was accidentally burned to death. In short, Peter's table manners " lacked the calm repose which stamps the caste of Vere de Vere."

The sham battles with which the Tzar also amused himself were also dangerous ; for, says Mr. Graham, " there were many killed and wounded in all these fights." In one sham battle Prince Ivan Dolgoruky lost his life.

From this it will be seen that Peter was little better than a savage ; but, in justice to him, we must remember that his people were even worse than he. M. Oudard gives some appalling details of the state of immorality into which they had sunk, and M. Valeriu Marcu reminds us that only thirty years before the birth of Lenin the Russian Church had only got as far as expressing mild disapprobation of the masters who (1) gambled for serfs at cards, (2) gave away serfs as presents to their mistresses, or (3) sold serfs to restaurants in St. Petersburg or Paris.

When the Tzar visited Western Europe in 1697, he was received rather as a Matabele chief would be received at the present day, and he behaved himself like a Matabele chief. Mr. Graham makes a similar comparison, but says " an Amir of Afghanistan " ; as a matter of fact, Amanullah was far more civilised than the great Russian autocrat. In England, Sayes Court, the beautiful house of John Evelyn, was placed at the disposal of the Russians, who treated it in such a way that apparently a cage in the zoological gardens would have been the proper place for them. They broke three hundred panes of glass. They smashed the brass locks of twelve doors. They blew up the kitchen floor. They used the posts and fencing of the garden for firewood. They broke the grates and twisted the fireirons. They dirtied the Turkish carpet. They smashed twenty-one pictures. They cut up dressers

and several doors. They covered the parlour floor with grease and ink. They broke walnut tables and stands. They seem to have had wild games in the beds, for they had torn up the feather beds, ripped the sheets, torn the canopies to pieces, and ruined precious silk counterpanes. Many things were lost, among them the former occupant's charts and designs.

In Paris *le public est "étonné de ces manières qui ne trahissent point une grande habitude des cours."* One of *ces manières* of Peter consisted in getting his father confessor, Nadazhinsky, a heavy drinker (and probably selected as confessor on that account) to fight a pitched battle with a French abbé, *aussi buveur renommé.* Nadazhinsky won, greatly to the delight of his imperial master, who thanked him *d'avoir sauvé l'honneur de la Moscovie,* and presumably winked at his fleecing of their French hosts by claiming from them for his religious services an exorbitant number of candles—which he afterwards sold in the market! At Meudon Peter "*gratifie un valet d'un billet de la banque de Law qui vient de lui servir à un usage malpropre.*" Though the hint might have been more delicately conveyed, it was one way of expressing His Imperial Majesty's opinion of the French tipping system and, at the same time, of the financial standing of Law's bank—then at the height of its glory, but destined soon to come down with a crash. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that the French Court found "*ses manières peu polies.*"

Unfortunately Peter was not only *un personnage grossier et mal élevé,* he was also extremely cruel. During his absence in Europe the Strieltsi revolted; and for a parallel to his treatment of the captured rebels we must go to Stamboul or to Byzantium, from which indeed Peter inherited most of his cruelty. Not only did he torture seventeen hundred of them, but when they were brought to the Red Square in Moscow he acted himself as executioner, and on the first day of the executions struck off

two hundred heads with his own axe. This more than savage brutality he retained all through his life. A few days before his death his last present to his unfaithful wife, the Empress Catherine, was the severed head of her lover in a glass jar. If he did not decapitate his own son Alexis, as was reported at the time by Pleyer, the representative of the Austria emperor, he had him tortured so frightfully in his own presence that the Tzarevitch died the same day. Decidedly, Peter was not the sort of person one would invite to an old lady's tea party !

There is even worse to be told, but for the Tzar's other misdeeds I must refer the reader to the pagesof Mr. Stephen Graham and M. Georges Oudard. Those two writers confine themselves to facts, but a truer picture, perhaps, of Peter was given in the form of an historical novel about thirty years ago by the great Russian writer, Dmitry Merezhkovsky.

To be just to the Tzar, I repeat, we must remember that his people were as bad as he, and that his predecessor, Ivan the Terrible, was in some respects worse. For this the Russians are not entirely to blame : we must attribute part of the blame to Byzantium and to the Tartars. Count Joseph de Maistre lamented, a hundred years ago, that such a fine, vigorous race as the Muscovites had been evangelised from Byzantium at a time when Byzantium had touched almost the lowest depths of decay and degeneracy ; and a recent English writer on Russian history expressed much the same opinion when he said that a cynical fate had appointed Byzantium to be the senile and inadequate nurse of the youngest and most backward child in the European family. Most students of Byzantium's history would probably put it much more strongly than this, for Byzantium herself had been infected by some subtle Asiatic corruption, and her whole theory of autocracy, which was taken over entire by Ivan the Great, the founder of the Russian Empire, was bound to lead Muscovy along a different

road from that by which the other European nations travelled, the autocrat's absolute power in civil matters and all but absolute power in religious matters being unfortunate ingredients in that theory. Thus we find Russia, at the very outset of her career, inoculated with a half-pagan virus from Asia; and, later on, the Mongols inoculated her with another variety of Asiatic virus, a variety which afterwards led one historian to describe the Tzars as more the descendants of the Tartar Khans than of the Christian Princes of old Kiev and Novgorod.

Only one ruler saw the dangers inherent in this isolation of Muscovy from Europe, and took measures which, if successful, would probably have saved Russia much misery. As the Russian Jesuit, Father Pierling, points out in the volumes on Russo-Roman relations which he has compiled from the Vatican archives, the Pope sent to Moscow a number of embassies; but two of them, which might probably have succeeded in their mission of bringing Russia back to the Church, were stopped by the Poles, who simply did not want those Scythian savages to become Catholic, and a third was stopped for the same reason by a Hapsburg Grand Duke.

The thirteenth century, the most brilliant century that Western Christianity had ever seen, was the darkest period in Russian history, for in that century came the Tartars. One must not exaggerate, however, the injury done to Russian civilisation by the Tartar conquest, for despite the dread significance attached to the very word "Tartar" in English literature, the Tartar ruler of Russia was much more the gentleman than the English ruler of Ireland ever was. He allowed the fullest autonomy to the Russian Princes, and was content if they sent an annual tribute to him in his Asiatic steppes. With religion he never interfered, and neither Timurlane nor Ghengis Khan ever proposed in the case of the Orthodox popes such an atrocious punishment as that which Dublin Castle proposed to inflict on Irish Catholic priests two hundred years ago.

Nevertheless, the Mohammedan Tartars had a low standard of civilisation, and the *Tatarshchina* left deep traces on the government, on the character, on the language, on the customs, and even on the faces of the Russian people. Lenin, who was born at Simbirsk (now called Ulianovsk or Leninsk in his honour: M. Marcu gives both names), near the Asiatic frontier, had a somewhat Mongolic appearance; and Napoleon, with his usual penetration, said: "Scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar."

We must bear in mind, therefore, the influence of the Byzantines and of the Tartars and of the corrupt and schismatic Eastern Church on Peter's mind, and we must also remember that few men can wield absolute power without becoming more or less insane. And to the credit side of Peter's account we must put the humility which made him become a common workman in the shipbuilding yards on the Buitenzaan, though this humility was misdirected and involved a colossal waste of force, for there were a thousand things of more importance for Peter to learn than carpentry. To the credit side we must also, of course, put his foundation of St. Petersburg and many of his administrative reforms; but I am not so sure that Russia has gained by the Europeanization which he forced on her. He simply adopted the worst features of the political, economic and military systems that produced the French Revolution, the English Industrial Revolution, and the World War, and started Russia along a road that has led her into a pit. His conquests on the Baltic have been taken away to become parts of the republics of Esthonia, Latvia, and Finland; his city of St. Petersburg has ceased to be the capital; the Romanov dynasty, for the benefit of whose future he murdered his own son, has been practically annihilated; the navy which he began has dwindled to a few ill-equipped ships.

That St. Petersburg should be called Leningrad seems unfair to Peter, but, after all, Lenin deserves the honour

(if honour it be), for he has upset the whole edifice that Peter erected, and M. Oudard does not go too far when he says that "*Lénine a vaincu Pierre-le-Grand.*" Peter has been well called the greatest of Russian revolutionaries, and between him and Lenin there are many points of similarity. Both of them forced on Russia a system which ninety per cent. of the Russian people did not want, and the weapon which each of them used was Terror. Many muzhiks regard Lenin as Antichrist, but many more muzhiks regarded Peter as Antichrist, and the historical novel by Merezhkovsky to which I have just referred is called in the original Russian edition simply "Antichrist." Peter went outside of Russia for inspiration : so did Lenin, whose prophet is the German Marx. Peter gathered round him a gang of foreigners, Scotch, Dutch, German, Swiss, and even Irish—for one of his Brigadiers at Poltava was a Peter de Lacy from Limerick, who afterwards became Governor of Riga. Lenin gathered around him a similar group, which was largely Jewish, Georgian, Polish and Lettish.

On the other hand there were differences between these two great revolutionaries. Despite his cruelties and his excesses, Peter seems to have always had in him a streak of the crusader. He wanted all his life to drive the Turk from Europe and to rescue the Christians who were under his domination. On his death-bed he exhibited a lively faith and an extreme fear, which led him to order the consecration of a chapel "just outside his bedroom door, in order that he might feel nearer to God." He confessed and received the Viaticum thrice, and, with lips pressed to the crucifix, he gasped "I believe, I hope." M. Oudard says that these were "*mots menteurs,*" and adds : "*L'heure de la suprème défaite le trouve aussi lâche qu'il le fut à Narva et au Pruth. Il ne pense qu'à échapper à la colère de Dieu.*" This criticism seems to me unfair ; but whether Peter was really penitent or not, it certainly seems that Lenin died as he had lived, without a spark of

faith. Few men have ever taken a more materialistic view of life than Lenin, and yet he was not a bad man; on the contrary he was, in private life, a very kindly man. He never committed murder with his own hands, like Peter the Great; he probably never struck anyone in his life. He was never even divorced. To his wife, Nadezhda Constantinovna Krupskaya, he was sincerely attached, and she was equally attached to him. Nominally he belonged to the Orthodox Church, but it is doubtful if he ever really studied its doctrines; for his father, an ill-paid inspector of schools, was an enemy of both Church and State. M. Valeriu Marcu places the Ulianovs in "*la catégorie des intellectuels mécontents*," and says that the police had their eye on them. Lenin's elder brother Alexander was hanged in 1891 for belonging to a Terrorist organization which intended to assassinate Alexander the Third; and Lenin himself was only seventeen when the State punished him for the first time by expelling him from the University of Kazan. Though Trotzky says that Lenin took a great interest in the anti-religious propaganda, I would not describe Vladimir Ilyich as anti-religious. He feared a wave of religious fanaticism, and therefore took measures to weaken the hold of religion on the people; and in this connection it is well to remember that the only Church with which Lenin was ever acquainted was the very corrupt Church of Russia, an institution entirely subject to the State.

Though Lenin liked to pose as a man of the people, and to be photographed with a tweed cap on his head, a handkerchief knotted round his neck, and a row of smoking factory chimneys in the background, he was less of a manual worker than Peter. In fact he was not a manual worker at all, whereas Peter's feats with hatchet and hammer, and the length of time per day that he sometimes devoted to genuine, productive, manual work, would (if he were alive to-day) have ensured his indignant expulsion from any Trades Union in Ireland or Great

Britain. "He worked sixteen hours a day," says Mr. Graham, "commonly rising long before dawn to begin the morning, working by pitch flares. He was a tremendous workman. Hundreds of workers grew ill or could not stand the pace, and fled, risking the lash, from this incredible giant foreman-Tzar!"

Lenin, on the other hand, was of the professorial type, and in comparison with Peter he might be regarded as almost painfully respectable. He was all his life a hard student; but though his will was powerful, his intellectual vision was narrow, and he lacked originality. Perhaps these very defects were of advantage to him as a leader; for had he been as broad-minded as Count Leo Tolstoy or as Turgeniev, he might have done nothing, and have frittered away his life examining the many sides of the social question. As it was, he could only see one side of that question, and even that side he saw through the German spectacles of Karl Marx. But he certainly had faith in Karl Marx, too much faith; for though he read an enormous number of books on political economy, he trusted none that failed to corroborate Marx. Against authors who disagreed with Marx he sometimes launched anathemas violent enough to have come from the lips of a Russian archimandrite.

In London, where he lived at No. 30 Holford Square, he must have been regarded by the police as a model citizen, for he led a regular and studious life, passing half his time in the reading-room of the British Museum, where he may perhaps have rubbed shoulders more than once with Father John Gerard, S.J. At this time Lenin's name was Richter, and his landlady took him for a German. His real name, of course, is Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov; but during the course of his life he must have had at least twenty different names. At one time he even posed as a Finnish cook, perhaps because he was engaged in preparing a deadly brew for his enemy, the Tzar; but as Napoleon should be represented on horseback and Nelson on a quarter-

deck, so Lenin should be represented not in a factory or in a kitchen, but seated in a *cabinet de travail* with books and papers before him, for books and papers were the weapons with which he fought the Tzardom. It is true that from March to October, 1918, he displayed amazing ability as a mob orator and as an active revolutionary leader : indeed, his work during those six months was so important from an historical point of view that he should also be represented to posterity in the act of delivering a speech in the Red Square.

Lenin's success on this occasion is one of the many proofs that, like Marshal Foch, he was not only professorial and theoretical, but also practical and a man of action. Despite the short time which he was allowed to spend in any one part of Russia and the long time he spent abroad, he gained a close knowledge of the economic conditions in factories and workshops and even in the villages, a closer knowledge, I think, than most of the Orthodox priests obtained. The only Russian priest who ever became a great popular leader was Father Gapon, but unfortunately he sold himself to the Secret Police ; the other priests who tried to make themselves popular with the masses were promptly unfrocked by the " Most Holy Synod." No priest ever entered a factory to enquire into the conditions of life there ; so that, after a while, factory-hands began to regard the priests as enemies and the Bolsheviks as friends.

Peter was poorly educated. The French scientists whom he saw in Paris described his questions as childish ; and of his own country's literature he knew nothing, because at that time there was hardly any Russian literature. Lenin, on the contrary, was a well-educated man, and his style in Russian was as good as the late Lord Oxford's style in English. His wife attributes this to the fact that he learned Latin. He spoke English, French and German, and could read Italian, Swedish and Polish.

" He particularly abhorred all gush, boasting, or fine

words. Everything had to be done on a sound basis, noiselessly but firmly." These words were applied by Krupskaya to another conspirator, but they suit her husband equally well. In 1922 a dramatic version of Dickens' *Cricket on the Hearth* was produced in the famous Art Theatre of Moscow, but in the second act "Dickens' middle-class sentimentality" began to get on Lenin's nerves, and he walked out. We Irish have often been described as temperamentally akin to the Russians, but between the Bolshevik revolution on the one side and the Sinn Fein or Young Ireland or United Irish movements on the other there is not the faintest resemblance. The whole tone of "The Spirit of the Nation" would be antipathetic to Lenin, while, on the other hand, the dry Communist economics of Lenin would leave Collins and Griffith, John Mitchel and Wolfe Tone as cold as ice. Probably the Bolshevist leader would dislike most of all the speeches of O'Connell, with their abundant flattery of "the finest peasantry in the world"; for Lenin never flattered, and was never indeed a democrat. He believed in a group of "advanced thinkers," like himself, seizing on power and establishing a proletarian dictatorship for the education of the people, but he placed no trust in sentimental Liberalism or in shouting crowds. The great motive force in his life was hatred, hatred of the Tzar, a hatred as great as Wolfe Tone's hatred of the English, and whetted, as Tone's was, by the hanging of his own brother.

Peter's task was much easier than Lenin's—for, after all, he was Tzar, whereas Vladimir Ilyich had to begin at the foot of the ladder, and to use up most of his energy dodging the Imperial police and reasoning with colleagues, who were sometimes stupid, sometimes jealous, and sometimes in the pay of the Russian Government. But for the insistence of Lenin the "Komitetchiks" or members of the illegal committees in Russia would have refused to admit any manual workers into their committees, with the result that those

committees would be impotent in the event of revolution. But for Lenin the Bolsheviks would never have cut themselves adrift from the Mensheviks in 1903. This was probably one of the boldest actions of Lenin's life. To an Irish or British party leader it would have seemed madness, for it meant halving the strength of the Social Democrats. But Lenin believed that a small, disciplined party was preferable to a large, undisciplined party, and that a tepid member would only lower the revolutionary temperature. He therefore expelled tepid members without compunction, exactly as St. Ignatius of Loyola expelled tepid novices from his Order; and the result of the October revolution showed that he was right. In political matters he believed in compromise as little as St. Ignatius did in religious matters;[1] and when all the Socialists in Europe were carried off their feet by the wave of militarism that swept the world in August, 1914, he was one of the few that stood firm. Not only did he scoff openly at the eloquent assurances that it was a war to end war, and would result in the conversion of Europe into an earthly paradise; but he assailed Albert Thomas, Vandervelde, and other militarized Communists with blasts of vituperation worthy almost of Peter the Great.

In 1916 Lenin's fortunes seemed at their lowest ebb, even lower than Peter's fortunes had been at Narva in November, 1700. He was forty-six years of age, had gone very bald, and was getting about £2 a week from the revolutionary party, of which he was the head. Most of his time was spent in writing, in correcting *all* the proofs of his newspaper, the *Iskra*, in studying, and in drawing up agrarian statistics. That this elderly, obscure and deserted man could ever intervene in the gigantic conflict that was then shaking the world seemed a ludicrous supposition; but in less than a year he *did* intervene, and with the

[1] I sometimes like to imagine what Lenin might have been, if he had been born in a Catholic family and brought up in a Catholic atmosphere. He might have been the founder of a Religious Order like that of St. Ignatius of Loyola.

result that everybody knows. It must be admitted, however, that he profited by a combination of circumstances such as the world may not see again for a thousand years. The weakness of the Tzar, the folly of the Tzarina, the defeats sustained by the army, the rise of Rasputin, the absence of all regular troops from St. Petersburg, the disaffection of the Duma, the generals, the statesmen, and even the Grand Dukes—these are some of the elements that came together to give the revolutionists of March, 1917, their chance. Then, by a marvellous piece of luck for Lenin, the Government which replaced the Tzar was also feeble and divided, and none of the Generals or Grand Dukes showed any character. Lenin's bold decision to strike at that moment for empire marks him as one of the great men of history, for many of his followers held back.

Nevertheless, we should not allow ourselves to be dazzled either by Peter or by Lenin. Peter established a predatory empire that shamefully neglected its own children ; and though Lenin proved his contempt for imperialism by throwing away territory twenty times the size of Ireland, the new trend which he gave to Russian policy may be good neither for Russia nor for Europe nor for Asia. The terrible nature of the campaign against Christianity in Russia has already been pointed out in these pages by Mgr. d'Herbigny ; and many writers have described the failure of the Soviet Government in other directions. One danger which has never been described was brought home to me with great force when I was in Siberia as a military officer : it is the danger that Russia will lose the whole Pacific coast of Siberia. Japan could take all that coast to-morrow if she liked, for when I was in Vladivostock Japanese officers photographed and sketched every part of the fortress there and also bought all the plans from impecunious Russian officials. In fifty years' time all Siberia east of Lake Baïkal may be yellow and non-Christian.

FRANCIS MCCULLAGH

THE CARTHAGINIAN LEGEND

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THERE is scarcely in all history a more striking instance of successful war-propaganda than the legend of ancient Carthage. The Romans, having encountered in her their one really dangerous enemy, who very nearly blocked at its beginning their expansion towards world-dominion, were naturally enough not content with her utter physical defeat and destruction. In the course of half-a-century of desperate military struggles, they were forced to call into action against her not only their immense material resources, but also every moral agency they could bring to bear on native and foreign public opinion. Their victory sanctioned the Roman version of the story, and the formula which made " Punic faith " equivalent to treachery was successful in glozing over their own by no means infrequent breaches of international morality. Even the Greeks, who largely took the Carthaginian side during the struggle, and some at least of whom clearly saw that they themselves were its destined prize, later accepted and helped to propagate the Roman legend. Modern historians have naturally tended to view the ancient world from the Roman standpoint, even while being forced to admit that the Romans were clearly not the saviours of humanity they claimed to be. The mediaeval division of the civilised world between Moslem and Christian, the long wars against Turkey, and even the nineteenth-century scare of the " Yellow Peril," have all contributed to cause Greek and Roman history to be regarded as a continuous struggle between the progressive West and the degenerate East. In this struggle first Persia, then Carthage, and finally the Greeks themselves

as represented by the Hellenistic monarchies, are often counted as the threatening but happily defeated forerunners of the Saracen, the Ottoman, and the Mongol. The mere fact that the Greeks are to be found in this scheme, at a certain stage, as the enemies of Western civilisation, is enough to make it suspect. It is equally unfair to the great Persian people whom Herodotus admired; and it has involved a particularly grievous injustice to the Mediterranean city whose gallant struggle almost saved the civilised Greek world from that long subjection to a selfish and semi-barbarous Western military power which nearly ruined civilisation altogether.

The Carthaginians do not indeed seem to have attracted any more love as a people than their cousins the Hebrews. They had, as no other ancient race, the modern passion for commerce. To us it does not seem at all unnatural that trade should be the foundation of states; we have in fact become almost morbidly alive to its pre-eminence. To the Greeks and Romans there was something shocking about such an idea. They gravely recorded the strange fact that Hannibal was rather fond of money. The Carthaginian sense of humour, which seems to have been a marked characteristic, they found equally shocking. When Hannibal's staff was considering the march over the Alps into Italy, one officer remarked that, in view of the scarcity of provisions on the route, the army would probably have to eat part of itself, and Hannibal solemnly reassured him, saying that it would hardly be necessary to go so far. Polybius mentions this story as an instance of Carthaginian savagery. They were a utilitarian people, with little if any artistic sense. Whatever art they had was first Egyptian, then Greek, either purchased or crudely imitated. Their interests in life were agriculture, industry, and the carrying trade. The only Carthaginian literature we hear of consisted of agricultural and geographical manuals; and it can be said of them that in these matters their standards were high. They kept their territory in

Africa so well cultivated that it seemed to Greek invaders like one huge garden. They were the only ancient people that had any real knowledge of the West African coast; one of their sea-captains has left a fragmentary description of a voyage to the regions inhabited by gorillas. Their industry was based, like that of nineteenth-century Manchester, on the mass-production of cheap textiles, pottery, and glass for a vast trade in barter with the savages of Mauretania and the Atlantic coasts. They maintained a stringent commercial monopoly over the Western Mediterranean for two-and-a-half centuries, and enforced it by means of a powerful navy, and it was this monopoly which made them seem an odd, unpleasant people to the Greeks, who wanted a finger in everybody's pie. They were not, however, any more cruel, more perfidious, or more barbarous in their religious rites than either the Greeks or the Romans. For every Carthaginian atrocity that was carefully noted by their enemies, it would be easy to find a number of worse atrocities in the records of these enemies themselves. "Punic faith" was simply a war-formula like "perfide Albion" and "the scrap of paper."

It is possible that the people of Carthage were only partly of Semitic stock, in spite of their language. Their city, whose name has the same meaning as that of Naples, was a colony of the Phoenician city of Tyre, and was founded probably during the eighth century B.C. Its mother-city had had a long history before then, one incident in which was its re-foundation about 1190 B.C. At that time the Levant was full of wandering fragments of many races, who had been beaten back after a gigantic raid on Egypt in the very year of this re-foundation. It is not improbable that a considerable element in the new Tyre consisted of the remnants of these raiders, and that the name "Phoenician" derives in part from them. The raiders were largely seafarers like Homer's Odysseus, familiar already with the Western seas; and Tyre soon became

a great centre of trade with the west. In particular, she opened up connections with the fabulously wealthy silver-land of Tarshish in south Spain. The Greeks knew this land as Tartessos, and its king as Arganthonios, "Silver-man." There the Tyrians founded Gades, still an important seaport; and Carthage, the New Town, apparently began its history as a station on the way to the depot of Gades. Its situation, at the narrowest part of the central Mediterranean opposite Sicily, was so favourable that it soon eclipsed its depot; and when Tyre, conquered by Assyria and Persia, was forced to drop the leadership of Phoenician trade, Carthage took it up.

The earliest known date in Carthaginian history is that of the sea-battle of Alalia, in Corsica, in 535 B.C. By that time she was already leader of the western Phoenician cities, which stretched along the coast of Africa from the west of modern Tripoli to Spain. In alliance with the Etruscans she swept the Greeks out of Corsica, cut the connection between Massalia (modern Marseilles) and its mother-city in the East, and closed the Western Mediterranean to further Greek settlements. During the next twenty years, under the command of one of her great men, Malchus, she laid her grip on western Sicily, took its Phoenician cities, of which the chief was Panormus, the modern capital Palermo, under her own rule, and ended the process of Greek colonisation there also. In 508 she concluded a treaty with Rome, the traditional date of whose liberation from Etruscan dominance is the previous year. In that treaty she appears as complete mistress of the seas west of Sicily and as able to prohibit all trade except her own in Sardinia, Corsica, and Africa. Similar treaties regulated her relations with Massalia, Cyrene, and the cities of Etruria.

In spite of the devoted labours of French archaeologists, we have only a minimum knowledge of the appearance of Punic Carthage. The fury of Roman destruction and the fervour of Roman propaganda have left

little material or written record of Rome's enemy. The city was most remarkable for its strong citadel, the Byrsa, whose name is identical with the modern Arabic Bosra, and for its magnificent double harbour, artificially constructed and approached only by a narrow channel. The government of Carthage, like that of Rome, was in the hands of an oligarchy of great families, and the common people were seldom consulted. Its chief magistrates were two in number, elected annually, and called Suffetes, the same name as that of the Hebrew Judges; and its Senate consisted of three hundred nobles, who sat for life and were known by the title Rab, also familiar from Hebrew history. There were other councils also, of which we know little. The wealth of the State was gigantic, by Greek standards, though probably no greater than that of Ptolemaic Egypt; it was derived from tribute, customs-dues, and the silver-mines of Spain. The population of Carthage itself is variously estimated, and may have reached half-a-million; including non-Phoenician subjects, she may have ruled over a total of four millions in all. Being a commercial State, Carthage relied for her defence chiefly on paid professional soldiers recruited from all over the Mediterranean. Her military strength was probably never at all equal to that of Rome; her largest force at any time was about a hundred thousand men, but lack of numbers was made up for by intensive training and by a close application of the best Greek military science. Greek officers were common in Carthaginian armies, and one of them, Xanthippus, saved the state in the first Punic War. Her fleet was not as large as Greek imagination pictured it, but in naval warfare her captains and crews were particularly skilful and well trained. Altogether she seems to have been constantly forced, especially in the struggle with Rome, to compensate for lack of man-power with money and skill. She was far stronger than any Greek power of the fifth century, but hardly much more than equal to the great kingdoms of the third.

Carthaginian control in the western Mediterranean was maintained in all its rigidity from the middle of the sixth century till the Punic Wars in the middle of the third. During that period the Etruscan power collapsed, and Italy underwent a series of obscure upheavals culminating in the great Gaulish raid of 390. Rome gradually took the place of Etruria, and just as the latter had been the ally of Carthage, so the rise of Rome was looked on with no uneasiness, and she was actually helped to establish her rule over the Greeks of the south in spite of the intervention of Pyrrhus. For Carthage the danger-point of her empire was always Sicily, and there she repeatedly came into violent collision with the Greeks. It was natural that she should attempt the conquest of the whole island, as its possession would have rounded off her western monopoly. She took whatever opportunities were provided by events in the East, with which her connection with Tyre gave her an excellent acquaintance, to crush the power of Syracuse, the one formidable Sicilian Greek state. In 479, on the very day of the battle of Salamis, a great Carthaginian expedition was defeated at Himera in the north of the island. Sixty years later, when Athens and Sparta were entering on the last phase of the Peloponnesian War, another Carthaginian attempt, after doing terrible damage, was frustrated by the genius of Dionysius the Great. A series of further wars with him, in the course of which he almost expelled Carthage from her last Sicilian outpost, ended in 366 with a treaty which assured to her a considerable territory. From this time onwards, though she was constantly embroiled in Sicilian strife, siding with one Greek city or tyrant against another, and though once an invasion of her African possessions by another great Syracusan, Agathocles, nearly destroyed her altogether, Carthage seems to have abandoned all thought of mastering the whole island and to have remained essentially on the defensive. She could, on the whole, well afford to do so, as the Sicilian Greeks were

nearly exhausted by their own perpetual wars. It was only when Rome, having united under her sway all central and southern Italy, began, contrary to all justice and without any very potent reason, to take a hand in Sicilian affairs, that Carthage found herself in mortal danger. Then commenced the most terrible contest in all ancient history. Its first round, after twenty-three years full of Titanic battles on sea and land, cleared Carthage out of Sicily; its second, after seventeen years more, in which Rome was shaken to her foundations, eliminated Carthage as a military power, and therewith ushered in a new and disastrous epoch in the history of civilisation.

We are accustomed to regard the extension of Roman rule over the Greek East as an inevitable and beneficial process, to which we owe ultimately the transmission of Greek culture to the modern world. The ordered splendour of the Augustan Age and the noble Imperialism preached by Virgil and Horace have impressed on our minds a picture of the great City spreading its light over East and West alike, civilising the rude Gauls and saving the degenerate Greeks from the effects of their own viciousness and incompetence. There is, however, a reverse side to this glorious picture, and the Augustan brilliance should not blind us altogether to the two centuries of wretched misgovernment, licensed rapine, and carefully fostered decay which preceded it. It is worth our while to reflect that at the beginning of the third century B.C. Rome's victorious progress was not at all as inevitable as it now seems to have been, and that for many generations it brought not peace and order but war and anarchy upon the most civilised peoples of the world. The antithesis between the degenerate Orient and the manly Occident was itself one of Rome's devices for giving a moral justification to her military ascendancy; and when even to-day historians mournfully repeat the tale of how the older Roman virtues, their *gravitas* and their probity,

declined because of too close contact with the starveling Greeks, they are only giving one side of the story, and that the less important side. The truth is that in the third century B.C. Greek civilisation—Greek art, letters, and science, and the Greek organisation of life in cultured urban communities—was the only civilisation in the world, and that Rome in particular owed to Greece everything except its political system and its overwhelming military strength. Until Rome's final victory over Carthage, the world's centre of gravity was in the Eastern Mediterranean; and spreading from that centre, carried principally by Macedonian arms, Greek culture was in the ascendant everywhere from the Hindu Kush to the west of Sicily. After Rome's victory, the centre of power, though not the centre of civilisation, was violently shifted westwards, and from that time till the partial recovery under Augustus, civilisation was in universal decline. There is nothing fortuitous about the connection between Roman expansion and this decline; one was the cause of the other, and the importance of Carthage in European history is that she very nearly prevented both.

Owing to the fragmentary nature of its literary records and the difficulty of understanding the modern discoveries which have so enormously supplemented them, the Hellenistic age is often still looked on as an age of decay. It had indeed very different interests and tastes from the great age of fifth-century Athens, but it was none the less an age of remarkable progress in many ways. In particular it was the most scientific epoch that the world had so far traversed, an epoch in which wealth, industry, and knowledge were very greatly increased, and the general standard of life improved over far larger areas than civilisation had yet affected. The conquests of Alexander the Great had made the civilisation of Athens the common property of the whole Eastern world. Especially in Asia, both under Alexander himself and his successors, new Greek cities sprang up everywhere

—one king alone was credited with the foundation of sixty—and in these cities and around them the penetration of Oriental life by Hellenism was constant and profound. The Greek language became the language of education everywhere, and Greek men of learning took up and developed old ideas in a Greek spirit. The notion of an *Oecumenê*, a world-culture of Greek character in which all humanity aspired to participate, was dominant even during the long and wasteful wars between kingdoms and cities. The political basis of this world-culture, which of course spread freely outside it, was the Empire of Alexander, and after his death the three kingdoms of Macedon, Egypt, and Asia, which struggled for a century to assert their rule over all Greek cities and states. They developed a kind of international law, local government, and a whole complex of political ideas to which Rome afterwards fell heir. Their military establishments were on an elaborate scale, their strategy and tactics much more scientific and subtle than those of earlier Greece. Ultimately they came to rest on an uneasy balance of power, in which each kingdom sought its own security by the most involved diplomatic and military processes, and mutual jealousy was the main motive force. Their diplomacy was conducted on very punctilious and courtly lines, and we can still read in Plutarch of their refined sensations when they came in contact with the " barbarian " Senate of Rome.

There is no doubt that the rivalries and wars of these kingdoms did much to retard the progress of the civilisation they were so proud of. In Asia especially the jealousy of Egypt prevented the definite establishment of a strong kingdom in control of all its parts, and encouraged acute and disastrous divisions both in the Seleucid house itself and among its subjects in Asia Minor. In Greece also Macedonian power was kept within limits by constant subsidies to its enemies from the Egyptian kings, who were themselves safe in their unitary State, and only

subject to the Nemesis of a native reaction. Nevertheless, all three kingdoms, whose rulers were for the most part hard-working and often extremely gifted administrators, always on the spot and always identified personally with the welfare of their States, continued to stand as remarkably fruitful centres of expanding culture for over a century. There were offsets and reactions, and in Egypt especially an undoubted tendency for the old native race to assert itself, but until the coming of Rome the Macedonian royal houses showed themselves thoroughly capable of eventually overcoming their several difficulties. There can be little question but that if they had been given time to establish themselves and to develop, Greek civilisation would have been able to absorb healthfully whatever native Oriental elements were worth absorbing, and that its own superior quality and great vitality would have carried it outside the bounds of the Hellenistic kingdoms to the Far East and to the peoples of the West. Already it had established contact with the Buddhist rulers of Northern India, and had so impressed itself on the eastern Iranians that Greek art penetrated in an orientalised form many centuries later to Eastern Turkestan. In the West Rome herself, through the intermediary of the Greek cities of Southern Italy, was rapidly assimilating Greek civilisation even before the Punic Wars had hastened the development enormously. By the end of the third century Roman nobles like Scipio Africanus were practically altogether Hellenised, and we are told of the hard-working soldier Marcellus that he "loved learning, delighted in the Greek tongue, and much esteemed them that could speak it." There was in fact no need for a Roman conquest of the Greek world in order that Greek literature, art, and science should penetrate to Rome.

Carthage also, the other great western power, was becoming deeply Hellenised for over a century before her wars with Rome. The process seems to have started early in the fourth century, when the mission of Hellenism was

beginning to be a preoccupation with Greeks themselves. The indecisive wars with Dionysius of Syracuse marked the turning-point. Carthage was of course already susceptible to external influences; her chief god, Ba'al Haman, was not Semitic, but a local version of the widely-venerated Egyptian Ammon. Her glass industry and her pottery were very much influenced by Egyptian models. But the Greek penetration went far deeper, because of the long Sicilian contact. Greeks and Carthaginians began to respect each other, and from the middle of the fourth century till Polybius, the Greek historians of Sicily are almost entirely pro-Carthaginian. The Great Mother and Persephone began to be worshipped in Carthage itself and had a temple there, without any jealousy from the more powerful native goddess Tanit. The careful merchant-princes, who had never so far taken to the Greek invention of coinage, although they had leather exchange tokens of their own, began to strike copies of Syracusan staters on dies made by Greek engravers, with the head of Persephone on the obverse and a horse's head or a lion and a date-palm on the reverse. Carthaginians opened shops in Syracuse itself, which were sometimes pillaged when relations were strained; but no Greek trader was encouraged in Carthage or her dominions. The Semites have always been good linguists, and probably most, if not all, Carthaginian aristocrats spoke Greek. Finally, their navies were built on the model of the great Hellenistic men-of-war and their soldiers trained in the tactics of Alexander the Great. The war-elephant, which was the Hellenistic equivalent of the tank, was first bought by them from some of Alexander's successors; then they began to catch and train their own. It is hardly likely that even under the most intensive Greek influence Carthage would have produced an African Catullus or Virgil; but Publius Terentius Afer, the protégé of Scipio, was a Carthaginian slave, and his Latin adaptations of Greek Comedy were

good enough to gain him the title of "Half-Menander." We know that there were libraries in Carthage from the fact that the one Punic book preserved by the Romans was Mago's agricultural manual, which was used by Cato and Varro.

It is generally taken for granted by historians that whatever might have been the outcome of the wars between Rome and Carthage, the Greek East, already doomed to its decadence, would necessarily have fallen a prey to the victor. I have tried to express the view that there was no fatal tendency to decadence in the Greek world of the third century. It is further highly improbable that had Carthage won the First Punic War, she would have interfered with the great powers of the East. Her policy in the west was a defensive policy. She was in the happy position of a wealthy state which has reached a stable equilibrium. Her victory over Rome might not even have meant that she would have conquered all Sicily. She had tried that too often, and in any case had no longer any need to fear the Sicilian Greeks. Her whole direction was inwards, towards the Western Mediterranean. She would have confined Rome to Italy, which would have left plenty of room for Roman expansion in the still unconquered North. Rome, on the other hand, once she had added Sicily to her Italian possessions, had a paramount interest in the Adriatic, and immediately began to infringe on a Macedonian sphere of influence by attacking the pirate kingdom of Illyria. A great amount has been written about the reasons for Roman expansion. Was she urged on by the lust for empire or drawn unwillingly into complications which brought her ever further afield? Neither of these explanations is the true one. She undertook her Sicilian adventure in 264 B.C. to protect a band of masterless men who had seized Messina and were threatened with expulsion. She herself had expelled a similar band from Rhegium a few years before. It is probable that she had

an understanding with Carthage pledging her to non-interference in Sicily. The island was at that time of minor importance to Rome; its possession, in part at least, was the corner-stone of the whole Carthaginian empire. Rome's adventure was avowedly undertaken and carried through in a spirit, at first in any case, of sheer light-hearted militarism. Its conclusion, after twenty-three years' exhausting effort, left her at once with huge further responsibilities in her hands, a great naval power, bound to protect the interests of her allies and subjects in the Adriatic.

Before the conquest of Sicily, Rome was perhaps the finest type of state so far seen. She had solved the persistent Greek antithesis between the city-state and the territorial kingdom by her peculiar federation based on mutual benefits. Her new structure was immensely powerful, not only in the military sense but in its capacity for cohesion. It proved its power even more fully in the second Punic War, when it withstood for twenty years the efforts of one of the greatest soldiers of history to disrupt it. The excellence of this new political system, however, should not blind us to the defects of Rome's subsequent policy. When she entered into the Hellenistic world, she ceased to apply her Italian system to the external conquests she then made. Instead, she adopted and developed on an unprecedented scale the policy which the Ptolemies had pursued for a century. This was the policy, which is well known to modern Europe, of Security. Rome felt herself justified, for the protection of her diplomatic, military, or economic interests, in constantly humiliating, defeating, and totally crushing every other state whose interests might cut across them. It is not without significance that she was on friendly relations with the Ptolemies long before she had anything to do with other Hellenistic states. At the end of the second Punic War, the power of the Ptolemies was in danger of collapse. Rome took on herself their rôle, and applied

their policy with immensely greater strength. It was the combination of Roman military power and Ptolemaic diplomacy that was to prove so fatal to the world, not excluding Rome herself, in the course of the next two centuries. Between the battle of Zama and the final destruction of Carthage, fifty-five years afterwards, Rome had smashed to pieces the Eastern balance of power, and had established in its place the selfish suzerainty of a single distant city unwilling or unable to take the responsibility of real Empire. The result was the destruction of Macedon, the crushing of all attempts at leadership among the small Greek states, the prevention of unity in Asia Minor, the fatal weakening of the Seleucid monarchy, and the long continuance of the rot that had already set in in Egypt. Corinth was laid in ruins, Athens given a final push into utter decay, Rhodes made powerless, Asia Minor kept in barbaric turmoil; new Oriental kingdoms were allowed to grow up East of the Euphrates, and half the ground won for Hellenism was irretrievably lost. In Italy itself this period saw the rise of a new capitalistic oligarchy and the beginning of the process which was to end in depopulation and the Spartacist slave-risings. It might have been better for Italy and the world if Appius Claudius Caudex had never gone on his raid to Messina.

The Carthaginian fight against Rome in the two great wars makes a remarkable impression of hesitancy up to a late stage and of desperate activity afterwards. It is not easy for us, in our ignorance of Carthaginian internal politics, to account for this apparent lack of sureness, which contrasts pitifully with the consistent determination of the Romans. Very probably the explanation lies in the comparative weakness of Carthage and the eagerness of her merchant rulers to return as soon as possible to the safety of peace. They lost the first war, which was undoubtedly defensive on their part, through lack of a strong will to win. The second war, although they did

their best in it, was not of their making. It was brought about by the deliberate and long-continued design of their two greatest men, Hamilcar Barca and his son Hannibal. After the loss of Sicily it is quite possible that Carthage would have allowed herself to drift into a position of hopeless inferiority if it had not been for the determined policy of Hamilcar. He turned to Spain to redress the balance that had been upset in Sicily, and in fifteen years he and his son-in-law Hasdrubal had not only created there a new Carthaginian Empire, but organised and trained out of Spanish material what must have been the finest army the world had ever seen. His son Hannibal succeeded to the command of this army at the age of twenty-six, and with it entered upon the gigantic enterprise of attacking Rome's power at its centre. It has often been pointed out that the greatest weakness in Hannibal's attack, conducted as it was with consummate military genius, lay in his lack of a fleet. He had no means of getting reinforcements short of a repetition of his own feat in crossing the Alps—a repetition which was attempted once and only came to failure at the Metaurus. It is quite probable that he was conscious of this weakness, and hoped to offset it by arousing a Greek crusade against the menace of Rome. Besides annihilating three great Roman armies and crushing all efforts at opposing him in the field for fifteen years of continuous campaigning, he did his best to unite the Greek cities of Southern Italy on his side, and actually concluded an alliance with Philip of Macedon, the only Greek monarch who had so far felt Rome's power. The terms of that alliance, as well as other evidence, shows quite clearly that both Carthage and Macedon were at one in the desire to confine Rome to Italy and even there to set severe limits to her sphere. Unfortunately, Philip was either too short-sighted or too harassed to make any great effort at putting his desire into effect. He was to pay for his failure nineteen years afterwards, at Pydna.

A speech delivered by an Aetolian delegate at a peace conference in 217, and reported in Polybius, gives us a vivid idea of the state of Greek feeling at the time. The delegate, one Agelaos, pointed out the folly of Greek disunion in face of the tremendous issue being fought out in Italy; whoever may be the victors, he said, they will stretch out their hands for power in Greece. Nevertheless, the project of union and a crusade against Rome, which might have saved Hellenism from two centuries of decline, failed to materialise. Even so, Hannibal, by his own unaided genius, was nearly the ruin of Rome. He fought her to a standstill in her own territory; the south of Italy never fully recovered from his devastation, and his name remained a bogey for generations to Italian children. Rome's unequalled man-power was all but exhausted—Polybius tells us that seventy thousand fell in one day at Cannae—her treasury was depleted, all her generals who faced Hannibal were routed. In spite of the fall of Syracuse, Tarentum and Capua, and the death of his brother at the Metaurus, he might have destroyed Rome in the end but for a Roman almost as great as himself—Scipio Africanus, who conquered Spain in three battles, crossed over to attack Carthage at home in Africa, forced Hannibal's recall, and in the end defeated him by the use of his own tactics in the decisive battle of the war. There is good reason for calling Scipio a greater than Napoleon, as Captain Liddell Hart has recently done.

His genius was perhaps the one thing that really saved Rome, and in destroying the power of Carthage he was more than any other man the founder of the Roman Empire. The war in which his namesake half-a-century later utterly destroyed Carthage herself was a minor incident, significant only of the spirit in which that Empire was consolidated.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MACKENNA, S.J., M.A.

XVI

THE THREE MARIES

References to the Three Maries are frequent in mediaeval literature. In the Pseudo-Matthew Apocryphal Gospel they are given as :—(*a*) Mary, daughter of Anne by Joachim, and wife of Joseph ; (*b*) Mary, daughter of Anne by Cleophas, wife of Alpheus and mother of James and Philip (or Joseph) ; (*c*) Mary, daughter of Anne by Salome, and mother by Zebedee of John the Evangelist and James the Lesser (*vid. Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. xvi. p. 51). In the same place it is said that the Anne, mother of the Three Maries had a sister Emeria (or Emeriana, and in other Apocryphal writings, Sobe) who was mother of Elizabeth, the Baptist's mother. The above genealogical table, as will be seen, differs from that given in the present poem, and there are still other variations of it extant (*cf. Dan Dé* i 17 note, xi 12 note, xv 27 note). The " sagart " of v. 7, father of Anne, is called Nathan in the Apocrypha.

The authorship of the poem is unknown, though in G it is ascribed to Colum Cille. All the MSS. are late and unscholarly. Only the more important variants are given in the Notes.

1. Trí hingeana fuig Anna
do thí fearaib fíorglana
uaral an t-ainm go nglile
Muire ainm gach ingine.

2. Ingean Iaicim Muire mór
máthair Íosa gan anfóg
táraid an óg nar caill mod
Críost do cum neamh ir talamh.

3. Ingean Cleofar fir nar tim
Muire meadónach méirfinn
máthair San Séan nocan céal
mar aon agus Eoin Suidhgéal.

4. Ingean uaral Soloime
an tres Muire go gcaoimhe
máthair an dá mac go ngur
Iacób mór ir Maith-éur.

5. Do-rróṫ Anna do raid Dia
do b'ísin Íor-ṁaria
do rug Elisabeat binn
máṫair Eoin Bairde béilbinn.

6. Ag sin cairdeas ríog na néal
re ceathar abstal naoiṁṫréan
cairdeas Eoin Bairde gan coir
an t-ugdar mar do orduig

7. Ceithre fine fa maith méin
do fágaib seanchas foiléir
is gach rann nís ceil go grod
an clann do gein ón sagart.

Translation

1. Anne bore three daughters to three famous men; each was called Mary, noble and glorious name.

2. The daughter of Joachim was great Mary, Jesus' mother, ever blessed; to this virgin true to all law was given Christ, maker of Heaven and earth.

3. The daughter of brave Cleophas was the second Mary fair of hand; mother of St. James—I hide it not—and of John Evangelist.

4. The noble daughter of Salome was the third gentle Mary, mother of two spirited sons, James the Greater and Mattheus.

5. To Anne God gave a sister, Iosamaria; she bore sweet Elizabeth, mother of sweet-spoken John Baptist.

6. This is the kinship of Heaven's Lord with the Four holy powerful Apostles, and the kinship of John Baptist, as the Writer set them forth.

7. Four kinsmen of noble heart the clear record tells of—he passes not lightly over any step—the race that sprang from the Priest.

Notes

[MSS.: 23 G 23 p. 231 (G); 23 N 34 p. 187 (N); F ii 2 p. 116 (F)].

1 *b* do ṫṁúr ofeapaib f. G.N *c* tainim go nsle GNF. 2 *a* Iaiṫċim GN *c* toparó GNF; call GN *d* ċuim N. 3 *a* f (v over it) *c* ceal GN, cceal F. *d* fuibirgéal NG. 4 *a* Soloime N, Soloiṁe GF. *b* ccaoiṁgne F. *d* Iacob NGF. 5 *a* d. A. do raiṫ GFN *b* Irmairia F. *c* eliopaibeat GN. 6 *a* Aigrin G *b* habstal F, eabstal NG; naoiṁéad N. 7 *a* meinn NGF *b* ofagaib an f. NGF. *c* ar gac GN, is gac F. *d* ón earbog GN, ón fagart F.

JOHN GALSWORTHY, DOG-LOVER

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

IS it a mark of the degeneracy of our times, of a weakening into slobbering sentimentality, that so much attention in current literature is devoted to dogs and children ? You may read Jane Austen's novels from end to end, and I doubt if you will find a dog so much as named, much less figuring prominently as an integral part of the story. And how extremely unattractive the children are, if by some rare chance they stray into her pages. No doubt Miss Austen was well acquainted with *Sandford and Merton*, and she may have concluded that the portraits of Harry and Tommy, developed through three volumes, had exhausted the possibilities of interest in that direction. In any case we are not anxious to hear more of such small people as the Gardiner family, who make a fleeting appearance in *Pride and Prejudice* :—

> The little Gardiners, attracted by the sight of a chaise, were standing on the steps of the house as they entered the paddock, and when the carriage drove up to the door, the joyful surprise that lighted up their faces and displayed itself over their whole bodies, in a variety of capers and frisks, was the first pleasing earnest of their welcome.

What a contrast this to the delightful children who are a perennial source of inspiration to the writers and artists of *Punch* ! How stiff and laboured are Miss Austen's " capers and frisks " beside the living flashlight portrait which Mr. Galsworthy paints in three lines of a tiny girl whose unspoken prayers have been divined and who is rewarded by the promise of a pony of her own !

> Gyp looked at her little daughter, who had given one excited hop, but now stood still, her eyes flying up at her mother and her lips parted ; and she thought : " the darling ! she never begs for anything."[1]

[1] Galsworthy, *Beyond*.

The thumb-nail picture is as clear and unforgettable as if one had witnessed the scene, and so is this miniature in *The Patrician* :—

> Pressing the guinea-pig between her hands, as it might be a concertina, little Ann jigged it gently above the pointers, who, wrinkling horribly their long noses, gazed upwards fascinated.

There would be plenty of child-life illustrations to choose from, but our present subject is the love of dogs, and I must not stray into other paths, however tempting.

There have been numberless books written about dogs, many of them describing matters from the dog's own point of view—Mr. Rudyard Kipling has published such a story within the last few weeks[1]—but in none of those known to me do I find the comprehension, the sympathy, the minute observation of which Mr. Galsworthy gives proof in his most casual allusions to his canine friends. The booklet of his which has a cocker spaniel for its hero does not, I must own, make so entirely satisfying an impression; but the pets who share the interests and the fortunes of the characters in his novels are invested with a reality and a charm which we may seek in vain in any other writer who deals with similar themes. Greatly as any good Catholic must dissent from Mr. Galsworthy's attitude towards various problems—social, philosophical, and religious—which meet us in his pages, he has in a supreme degree achieved the gift of apt expression, and he exhibits an almost Shakespearian power of identifying himself with another's point of view, even if it be that of the brute creation. In his pessimistic outlook upon life, and in the matter of construction and development, his novels—perhaps more than his plays—are open to criticism. One wearies in particular of his ever-recurring insistence on the grievances of the unhappily mated, and one resents the desperate solution which almost as inevitably is invoked to sever the Gordian knot; but in his descriptions of nature, in his "love for all those simple

[1] *Thy Servant a Dog*, told by "Boots," edited by Rudyard Kipling (Macmillan).

natural things, birds, bees, animals, trees and flowers, that seem to him precious and divine," there can be few educated readers whom he does not carry with him. When we are dealing with dogs there is indeed no room for difference of view. His human characters may jar. They act in ways which we, with our religious principles and acquired habits, cannot approve. But for his pet animals we conceive an admiration subject to no reserves; for hostile criticism is what a man most resents, and nothing which a dumb brute can do carries with it an implied censure upon the opinions and causes which we hold sacred. Mr. Galsworthy himself has emphasized the point in the sharp retort he puts into the mouth of the unjustly suspected husband in *Fraternity*. Replying to a satirical comment by his wife upon the dog's eyes which a *protégée* has cast upon him, "There is one virtue in dogs," said Hilary, "which human beings lack—they are incapable of mockery."

In any case, however we may explain it, the dogs who are so prominent in the scenes which Mr. Galsworthy sketches never irritate or weary the reader. He has always something fresh to communicate about them, some brilliant pen-study which calls up a picture convincing in its truth and vividness. Take, for example, this description of a Sunday morning service in an English village church. The dogs, as usual, have accompanied the squire and his wife; but, well-taught as they are, they remain patiently without the sacred precincts.

> The sun, reaching the second window, again shot a gold pathway athwart the church; again the millions of dust atoms danced, and the service went on.
>
> There came a hush. The spaniel John, crouched close to the ground outside, poked his long black nose under the chruchyard gate; the fox-terriers, seated patient in the grass, pricked their ears. A voice speaking on one note broke the hush. The spaniel John sighed, the fox-terriers dropped their ears and lay down heavily against each other. The Rector had begun to preach.[1]

[1] *The Country House.*

A summary of the sermon follows, not without a reminder that the thoughts of most of the congregation were otherwise occupied than in attending to what the preacher was saying. Their interest was hardly so sustained as that of the dogs patiently waiting for the end.

Outside the churchyard, in the sun-warmed grass, the fox-terriers lay one against the other, pretending to shiver, with their small bright eyes fixed on the church door, and the rubbery nostrils of the spaniel John worked ever busily beneath the wicket gate.

The description has all the truth of a photograph, but with colour and life as well. At a later stage in the same book the spaniel John figures even in the title of a chapter and carries off the honours. Mrs. Pendyce having unexpectedly gone up to town, the Squire, her husband, much disconcerted, decides to have his horse brought round.

Now the spaniel John—whose habit it was to smell of heather and baked biscuits when he rose from a night's sleep—was in disgrace that Thursday. Into his long and narrow head it took time for any new idea to enter, and not till forty hours after Mrs. Pendyce had gone did he recognise fully that something definite had happened to his master. During the agitated minutes that this conviction took in forming he worked hard. Taking two and a half brace of his master's shoes and slippers, and placing them in unaccustomed spots, he lay on them one by one till they were warm, then left them for some bird or other to hatch out, and returned to Mr. Pendyce's door. It was for all this that the Squire said "John!" several times, and threatened him with a razor-strop. And partly because he could not bear to leave his master for a single second—the scolding had made him love him so—and partly because of that new idea, which let him have no peace, he lay in the hall waiting.

As a rule John made no attempt to join in any riding excursion.

Having once in his hot youth inadvertently followed the Squire's horse, he could never be induced to follow it again. He both personally disliked this needlessly large and swift form of

animal, and suspected it of designs upon his master; for when the creature had taken his master up, there was not a smell of him left anywhere—not a whiff of that pleasant scent that so endeared him to the heart. As soon, therefore, as the horse appeared, the spaniel John would lie down on his stomach with his forepaws close to his nose, and his nose close to the ground; nor until the animal vanished, could he be induced to abandon an attitude in which he resembled a couching Sphinx.

But this afternoon, with his tail down, his lips pouting, his shoulders making heavy work of it, his nose lifted in deprecation of that ridiculous and unnecessary plane on which his master sat, he followed at a measured distance. In such-wise, aforetime, the village had followed the Squire and Mr. Barter when they introduced into it its one and only drain.

Often in Mr. Galsworthy's pages the dog is associated with a note of pathos. When at the close of that day the Squire comes back to the house which he imagined his wife had deserted, we are told how he sat brooding in his study with John asleep upon his foot. He read his wife's letter over again; for, as it was with the spaniel, so with his master: "a new idea penetrated but slowly into his long and narrow head."

So taking his candle, he went up to bed. The doors that barred away the servants' wing were closed. In all that great remaining space of house his was the only candle, the only sounding footstep. Slowly he mounted, as he had mounted many thousand times, but never once like this, and behind him, like a shadow, mounted the spaniel John.

And she that knows the hearts of men and dogs, the Mother from whom all things come, to whom they all go home, was watching, and presently, when they were laid, the one in his deserted bed, the other on blue linen, propped against the door, she gathered them to sleep.

I do not know if this is poetry, but one would gladly exchange a great deal of what passes under that name, not only for the sentiment, but for the very cadence of the passages just quoted.

Even in ladies' dogs, in Pekes, Mr. Galsworthy finds matter of interest. In one of the later sections of the

Forsyte Saga, Fleur, Soames Forsyte's daughter, now married, acquires a Peke to match her Chinese room.

Fleur was sitting before a red lacquer tea-table, finishing a very good tea. She always had tea brought in rather early, so that she could have a good quiet preliminary "tuck-in" all by herself, because she was not quite twenty-one, and this was her hour for remembering her youth. By her side Ting-a-ling was standing on his hind feet, his tawny forepaws on a Chinese foot-stool, his snubbed black-and-tawny muzzle turned up towards the fruits of his philosophy.

"That'll do, Ting. No more, ducky! *No more!*"

The expression of Ting-a-ling answered: "Well, then, stop too! Don't subject me to torture."

Mr. Galsworthy's interpretations of Ting's varied moods are almost uncanny in their insight. Lady Alison, arriving rather early for dinner,

was received only by Ting-a-ling, who had his back to the fire, and took no notice beyond a stare. Sitting down on the jade-green settee, she said: "Well, you funny little creature, don't you know me after all this time?"

Ting-a-ling's black shiny gaze seemed saying: "You recur here, I know: most things recur. There is nothing new about the future."

Fleur's husband, Michael Mont, coming home late, saw no sign that his wife was anywhere about.

He found Ting-a-ling at the foot of the stairs in a conservative attitude. "I am not going up," he seemed to be saying, "until someone carries me—at the same time it is later than usual!"

"Where's your mistress, you heraldic little beast!"

Ting-a-ling snuffled. "I could put up with it," he implied, "if *you* carried me—these stairs are laborious!"

Michael took him up. "Let's go and find her."

Squeezed under an arm harder than his mistress's, Ting-a-ling stared as if with black-glass eyes; and the plume of his emergent tail quivered.

In the bedroom Michael dropped him so absent-mindedly that he went to his corner plume pendent, and couched there in dudgeon.

In a later scene Fleur, in a moment of despondency, slips on to the floor in front of the fire, and snuggles her

face against Ting-a-ling. "The Chinese dog raised his head—his black eyes lurid in the glow. He licked her cheek and turned his nose away. Huf! Powder!" Then a strange step is heard just outside in the garden.

Ting-a-ling growled, turning his nose towards the windows. "In here," he seemed to say, "we are cosy; we think of the past. We have no use for anything outside. Kindly go away—whatever it is out there!" And again he growled—a low continuous sound.[1]

Ting's successor is introduced to us in connection with Fleur's first baby, Kit, whom his parents, anticipating the natural order of events, loved to refer to as "the eleventh baronet." An unexpected visitor, shown into what had once been the Chinese room, was conscious of a commotion close to the ground and of teeth grazing the calf of his leg.

"Dandie," said the butler, "you little devil! The dog is a proper little brute with strangers, sir. Stand still! I have known him bite clean through a lady's stockings."

Francis Wilmot saw with interest a silver-grey dog nine inches high and nearly as broad, looking up at him with lustrous eyes above teeth of extreme beauty.

"It's the baby, sir," said the man, pointing to a sort of nest on the floor; "he *will* go for people when he's with the baby. But once he gets to smelling your trousers, he's all right. Better not touch the baby, though. I'll take your card up."

Francis Wilmot sat down on a settee in the middle of the room and the dog lay between him and the baby.

When Fleur comes down she asks:—

"Don't you think it's rather touching the way this dog watches my baby? He's got the most terrific jaw!"

"What kind of dog is he?"

"A Dandie Dinmont. We did have a Peke. It was a terrible tragedy. He *would* go after cats; and one day he struck a fighting Tom, and got clawed over both eyes—quite blinded—and so——"

The young man saw her eyes suddenly too bright. He made a soft noise, and said gently: "That was too bad."

"I had to change this room completely. It used to be Chinese. It reminded me too much."

[1] *The White Monkey.*

There are few of our greater novelists who in the full stream of their story would venture upon such wide excursions into subordinate detail. But Mr. Galsworthy not only loves dogs himself; he has a not ill-founded confidence that he can make his readers love them for their own sake. His own interest is betrayed on a hundred different occasions, and especially in the similes to which he constantly has recourse, all of them evincing his sympathetic observation of canine psychology. He tells us, for example, how "Jon" Forsyte, just after he had fallen in love, was carried off by his mother to Spain, but "went as a well-natured dog goes for a walk with his mistress, leaving a choice mutton-bone on the lawn. He went looking back at it." He speaks of a woman's "little anxious smile which reminded one of the wag of a dog's tail." Soames, we read, was of opinion that after the War "the world had slipped its sanity a bit, as dogs now and again slipped theirs, and went off for a night's rabbiting; but the world, like the dog, knew where its bread was buttered and its bed warm, and would come back sure enough to the only home worth having—to private ownership." And on another occasion the same Soames "felt the *malaise* of one who contemplates himself as seen by another—like a dog who chances on his reflection in a mirror and is intrigued and anxious at the unseizable thing." In a description of June Forsyte we are told that in "her eyes, her chin, her hair, her spirit—there was something that suggested a thin Skye terrier just before its dinner." Or again, we hear of the intoxication produced in an admirer by Fleur's vivacious look: "It acted upon him exactly as the tug of a chain acts on a dog—brought him up to her with his tail wagging and his tongue out."

All these examples occur in one section of "The Forsyte Saga," that entitled *To Let*, but there are numberless others. It would be endless to attempt to exhaust the gems of felicitous description which are scattered through Mr. Galsworthy's pages.

At the same time his canine portraits are not all equally attractive. For example, Miranda, "the little moonlight-coloured lady bull-dog of toy breed," who pervades the novel *Fraternity*, does not interest me quite so much as some of her rivals, though this is probably due to the fact that I have never had any personal acquaintance with this particular breed. Still one carries away a pretty clear impression when one reads of her "looking up with eyes like agates, delicately waving her bell-rope tail, as it was her habit to do towards everyone." And the flash of intuition in the passage which follows would apply to other types besides that here in question :—

> In the corridor outside Cecilia was arrested by a noise. The uncertain light of London halls fell there ; on close inspection the sufferer was seen to be Miranda, who, unable to decide whether she wanted to be in the garden or the house, was seated beneath the hat-rack, snuffling to herself. On seeing Cecilia, she came out.
>
> "What do you want, you little beast ?" Peering at her over the tops of her eyes, Miranda vaguely lifted a white foot. "Why ask me that ?" she seemed to say, "How am I to know ? Are we not all like this ?"

And when the door of her master's room is opened, with encouragement to go inside, Miranda still defers taking action, waiting for someone to make up her mind for her by more vigorous measures. I fear, that Jane Austen, intent upon portraying the graces, the culture, the courtships, and the inanities of contemporary society, would have regarded these descriptions as very much beneath the dignity of the true artist in fiction. But is it only the foibles of the lords of creation that are worthy of record ? Are we not told that God clothes the lilies of the field and that not a sparrow falleth to the ground without the Father. Hence I am inclined to think that even in such a novel as *Beyond* whatever misgivings may be caused by the writer's attitude towards marriage and divorce, we need not withhold our sympathy from the qualities which make its heroine a centre of attraction to all animals and pets. Gyp notices the dog Ossian for the

first time in a railway carriage. Seeing its master pull down his overcoat to bank up the old Scotch terrier against the jolting of the journey, she took to the young man at once. "I like people," she mentally reflected, "who think first of their dogs." Later on Ossy becomes a beloved inmate of her own household, and we get such vivid glimpses of his status there as the following :—

> Going down on her knees in the porch, Gyp parted the old dog's hair and examined his eczema, thinking : "I must rub some more of that stuff in to-night. Oh, ducky, you're not smelling your best ! Yes, only—not my face."

There are few writers who can rival Mr. Galsworthy's gift of calling up a whole picture in a couple of lines. And which of us does not recognise the truth to life of an incident which attended Gyp's walk in Kensington Gardens ?

> One of those spotty spaniel dogs that have broad heads with frizzy top-knots and are always rascals, smelt at her frock and moved round and round her, hoping she would throw her sunshade into the water for him to fetch, this being in his view the only reason why anything was carried in the hand.

But, of course, the most moving canine personality—if we may use such a word of the brute creation—that occurs in Mr. Galsworthy's novels, is the dog Balthasar. He could claim no distinguished ancestry, and when we are first introduced to him he is spoken of as "a friendly and cynical mongrel, the offspring of a liaison between a Russian poodle and a fox terrier," while to the mental vision he is described more exactly in another record as "a woolly black-and-white dog trying to be a Pomeranian."[1] He belonged to the household of "Young Jolyon" when that matrimonially embarrassed Forsyte, at the time of his social ostracism was occupying a villa in St. John's Wood. "Old Jolyon," the father, had at

[1] "The Indian Summer of a Forsyte" in *Five Tales*. It is one of Mr. Galsworthy's rare lapses from consistency that in the book *In Chancery* we hear of "the faded *tan* and white of Balthasar's dead body."

first no interest in dogs, but in his son's prolonged absence, when Balthasar had been left in his keeping, an attachment had grown up which only yielded in degree to the affection he felt for his little grand-children. The old man was very near his end and suffering from a weak heart. It was a burning afternoon, and excited by the prospect of a visit from his niece he went to sit and wait for her arrival out of doors, while Balthasar, who also felt the heat, lay down beside him. Some thistledown wafted by the breeze settled on Jolyon's face and trembled with his breathing while it settled there.

The stable clock struck the quarter past. The dog Balthasar stretched and looked up at his master. The thistledown was no longer moved. The dog placed his chin over the sunlit foot. It did not stir. The dog withdrew his chin quickly, rose, and leaped on to old Jolyon's lap, looked in his face, whined ; then leaping down, sat on his haunches, gazing up. And suddenly he uttered a long, long howl.

But the thistle-down was still as death, still as the face of his old master.[1]

No one but a dog-lover as well as a keen observer could have written passages like these. Holly, the grandchild, had been a little girl when her grandfather died. When we meet Balthasar again she was nineteen, and was conducting a devoted admirer over the same house. The dog, lying in the stable-yard, was so old that he did not get up, but faintly waved the tail curled over his back. " When grandfather died," she told her companion, " he wouldn't eat for two days. He saw him die, you know." Balthasar, however, followed them into the house, " walking more slowly than anything on earth, and clearly expecting them not to exceed his speed limit." His first master, Young Jolyon, had again been long absent from home, but soon after returned unexpectedly, walking up to the house, which stood on an eminence.

He passed the pond and mounted the hill slowly. Near the top a hoarse barking greeted him. Upon the lawn above the

[1] *The Indian Summer of a Forsyte.*

fernery he would see his old dog Balthasar. The animal whose dim eyes took his master for a stranger was warning the world against him. Jolyon gave his special whistle. Even at that distance of a hundred yards and more he could see the dawning recognition in the obese brown-white body. The old dog got off his haunches, and his tail close-curled over his back, began a feeble, excited fluttering; he came waddling forward, gathered momentum, and disappeared over the edge of the fernery. Jolyon expected to meet him at the wicket gate, but Balthasar was not there, and, rather alarmed, he turned into the fernery. On his fat side, looking up with eyes already glazing, the old dog lay.

"What is it, my poor old man?" cried Jolyon. Balthasar's curled and fluffy tail just moved; his filming eyes seemed saying: "I can't get up, master, but I'm glad to see you."

Jolyon knelt down; his eyes, very dimmed, could hardly see the slowly ceasing heave of the dog's side. He raised the head a little—very heavy.

"What is it, dear man? Where are you hurt? The tail fluttered once; the eyes lost the look of life. Jolyon passed his hands all over the inert warm bulk. There was nothing—the heart had simply failed in that obese body from the emotion of his master's return. Jolyon could feel the muzzle, where a few whitish bristles grew, cooling already against his lips. He stayed for some minutes kneeling, with his hand beneath the stiffening head. . . . "I'll bury him myself," he thought. Eighteen years had gone since he first went into the St. John's Wood house with that tiny puppy in his pocket.[1]

There is perhaps some excess of sentiment here; but it is not an unhealthy sentiment, and it may very possibly be founded on a deeply-felt personal reminiscence. Reviewing in the bulk the many illustrations which have been given in this paper, it would hardly be extravagant, I submit, to hail Mr. Galsworthy as the Landseer of English literature and to claim for him that his dog studies reach as near the perfection of artistry as anything we can look for in this disappointing world.

HERBERT THURSTON.

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[1] *In Chancery.*

CROMWELL'S POLICY OF TRANSPORTATION

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J., M.A.

THOSE who have read Gardiner's *History of the Great Civil War* will remember the dramatic scene at Colchester, on August 28th, 1648.[1] It was only five months before the execution of Charles, and tempers were rising on both sides. Cromwell had just won his decisive victory at Preston, and had issued his stern message to Speaker Lenthall at Westminster: "It is not fit for me to give advice, nor to say a word what use you should make of this; more than to pray you and all that acknowledge God, that they would exalt him, and not hate his people who are as the apple of his eye; . . . . that all that will live peaceably may have countenance from you, and they that are incapable, and will not leave troubling the land, may speedily be destroyed out of the land."[2] A week later Fairfax had starved Colchester into submission, and had ordered the execution of two royalist commanders, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, both of them officers who had fought honourably under their King's commission. Gardiner has not failed to make the most of the court-martial: "to this tragic issue had the question of sovereignty been brought." But there was another issue decided in these fateful days that concerned, not the rich, but the poor; and the decision taken by Cromwell's Parliament has left a far graver blot on the record of the whole Puritan administration than the unwarranted execution of two English gentlemen.

The rout after Preston had left Cromwell with some ten thousand Scottish prisoners on his hands, and the

[1] Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, Vol. IV, ch. 65.

[2] Carlyle, *Letter* LXIV.

surrender at Colchester added to the number. What was to be done to these unwelcome survivors? A committee of the House of Commons, with Cromwell's message still fresh in their ears, was appointed to consider the question, and a report was submitted in their name by Colonel John Moore.[1] The report recommended that warrants should be issued for the transportation of these prisoners, and contracts offered to any who should be willing "to discharge the several and respective counties of the charge and burden of these prisoners." Power was accordingly granted to the Committee :—

> to give warrants for their transportation, and not returning at any time to the prejudice of this Kingdom, and to take the security accordingly; and are enjoined from this House to take especial care of their security; and that the plantations may be first furnished, and then the service of Venice; and that they that give the best security be first served. It is further referred to this Committee that the gentlemen of Bristol, according to their desires, may have liberty to transport five hundred, giving the like good security as others.

We have here quite definitely a new departure in the history of English colonial policy. Instead of the voluntary emigration on which the plantations had first depended for their supply of labour, sheer necessity had compelled the West Indian adventurers to comb the Bridewell and other prisons of the capital for forced labour under the hard indenture system. Prisoners of this type had been sent out to Virginia and the West Indies for the past twenty years, but this House of Commons Committee must bear the responsibility of having first ordered the transportation for political purposes of men who had fought as regular soldiers in a regular army, and whose sole crime was that they were a danger to the Parliamentary Commonwealth. One mitigation was allowed in this first instance. A distinction was drawn between those who had freely enlisted in the Royalist army and those who had served under compulsion. A committee

[1] *Commons Journal*, VI, 5.

of officers was sent to Lancashire to inquire into the matter, and all who could prove that they had been unwilling recruits were discharged on the engagement "that they will never come into the kingdom of England or Ireland as soldiers, without the consent of the Parliament of England."[1] What was done in Lancashire was done also at Colchester, where the prisoners were mostly Essexmen and London apprentices. To quote from the contemporary *Moderate Intelligencer* :—

> The prisoners taken in this town are disposed after this manner : the Lords, with two men apiece attending them, are to march with the General's regiment to-morrow. . . . the common soldiers, prisoners, return not to London to their masters to be ready for a new business, but will be conveyed West, in relation to Bristol and other sea-towns, that so they may pass to America, Venice or as shall be appointed ; the gentlemen, not soldiers, are committed to the care of troopers and others until further orders be taken.[2]

Of the impression made both in England and abroad by this drastic measure we possess a record in the contemporary papers of the Royalist Verney family.[3] "The Scots are sold in London to those who have plantations abroad for £5 the score," writes Dr. Kirton from Paris ; and Sir Edmund Verney, writing from the Havre, says of the whole Colchester episode :—"Fairfax's own party do so exclaim against the butchery . . . that it's thought there is an end of proceedings in that kind. The Parliament are selling the Scots common prisoners to the Barbadoes and other plantations, which I conceive to be about 12,000 or 14,000 men, and article the merchants for their not returning. I think they mean to transplant the whole nation of the Scots." Rumour had exaggerated the numbers, as was but natural. How many were thus actually sold into servitude in this summer of 1648 cannot

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Moderate Intelligencer*, E. 462, 18 (quoted by Gardiner, *loc. cit.*, p. 207, note 1). Service in Venice, we may add, meant service in the galleys of the Venetian Republic.

[3] *Verney Family Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 338.

now be determined, but there must have been many hundreds, perhaps thousands.

It is in the light of these preliminary facts that we must examine and judge the evidence for the wholesale transportation of Irish prisoners, men and women, during the years of the Commonwealth's administration in Ireland. From the first there had been open discrimination against Irish prisoners in the Puritan army, due to the wild charges that were current and universally believed as to the massacres of the Great Rebellion. As early as July, 1646, the Parliamentary Army had included among their proposals to the King at Newcastle that among those " persons who shall expect no pardon " must be included " all persons who have had any hand in the plotting, designing or assisting the rebellion of Ireland, except such persons who, having only assisted the said rebellion, have surrendered themselves or come in to the Parliament of England."[1] These proposals were repeated at the Isle of Wight in October, 1648; and in May of the next year we find the Council of State desiring directions from the House as to certain Irish prisoners, " by reason of several ordinances of Parliament forbidding the exchange of Irish prisoners or such as adhere to them."[2] The prisoners in question had been captured at sea—170 of them, together with their leader, Oliver French, of Galway, who is described as " the conductor of these, and the undertaker for 700 more, that are to be shipped at Galway for Flanders, as they pretend, but more likely for Holland, for the service of Charles Stuart." Oliver French was sent up to London on a charge of treason; the 170 who had been taken with him were ordered to be sent to the plantations, " where use may be made of their services for the advancement of those plantations."[3] A

[1] Cal. State Papers (Dom.), Oct. 13, 1648; Rushworth, *Collectanea*, IV, part i, p. 313.

[2] Cal. State Papers (Dom.), May 1, 1649; but Irish prisoners are ordered to be exchanged a few weeks later (*ibid.*, May 28, 1649).

[3] *Ibid.*, April 16 and 17, 1649.

few months later we hear that, out of four or five hundred thus held prisoners near Plymouth, some were exchanged for English prisoners held by the enemy at Scilly, and "the overplus, who cannot be exchanged," are to be sent to Barbadoes, if any merchants will take them.[1]

Cromwell's campaign in Ireland belongs to this same year, and a famous letter to Speaker Lenthall gives a graphic description of the methods he followed at the sack of Drogheda. Having told of the storming of the town and the burning of St. Peter's on the first day, he continues :—

> The next day, the other two Towers were summoned ; in one of which was about six or seven score ; but they refused to yield themselves : and we, knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away until their stomachs were come down. From one of the said Towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed ; and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other Tower were all spared, as to their lives only ; and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes.[2]

In a letter to Bradshaw, the President of the Council of State, Cromwell gives his own estimate of the numbers :—

> I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives. Those that did are in safe custody for the Barbadoes.[3]

It will be seen that the anger of the Parliament was not confined to words. If there were only thirty Irish prisoners shipped from Drogheda to the Barbadoes in the autumn of 1649, the small number was not due to any new policy of clemency ; and this system of wholesale massacre was continued throughout Cromwell's Irish campaign.

Next year it was the turn of the Scots. Dunbar was fought and won in September, 1650, and Cromwell was

[1] *Ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1649. [2] Carlyle, *Letter* CV. [3] Carlyle, *Letter* CIV.

once again faced with the problem of some thousands of prisoners. The wounded were permitted to return to their homes, but the remainder—some 5,000 in number—were sent to Newcastle with orders that they should be forwarded to the South. "I pray you," writes Cromwell to Hazlerigg, "let humanity be exercised towards them; I am persuaded it will be comely."[1] What happened has been told by Hazlerigg in a letter to the Council of State. The Scots prisoners reached Morpeth on their march south. Here they were confined in a walled garden, and driven by sheer hunger to eat raw cabbages. Then on through Newcastle to Durham, where they were lodged in the Cathedral. Dysentery had broken out among them, and the men died like flies. Finally they were sold as bond servants to the planters in New England: "which really is a mild arrangement," notes Carlyle, "much preferable to Durham Cathedral and the raw cabbages at Morpeth; and may turn to good for the poor fellows, if they can behave themselves."[2] Carlyle's comment is shrewd enough. These Scots were Presbyterians, and as such were welcome to the Puritans of New England. Writing to Cromwell from Boston next summer, John Cotton says:—[3]

> The Scots whom God delivered into your hands at Dunbar, we have been desirous, as we could, to make their yoke easy. Such as were sick of the scurvy or other diseases, have not wanted physic and chirurgery. They have not been sold for Slaves, to perpetual servitude; but for six, or seven, or eight years, as we do our own. And he that bought the most of them, I hear, buildeth houses for them, for every four a house; and layeth some acres of ground thereunto, which he giveth them as their own, requiring them three days in the week to work for him by turns, and four days for themselves; and promiseth, as soon as they can repay him the money he laid out for them, he will set them at liberty.

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[1] Carlyle, Appendix, No. 19; Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, Vol. I, p. 295.

[2] Carlyle, *Letter* CLXXXIV.

[3] Carlyle, *loc. cit.*, quoting from Hutchinson Papers (Prince Society), II, 264.

Much the same happened in the following summer. The Scottish army slipped past Cromwell into England and succeeded in reaching Worcester. Cromwell was hot in pursuit, and Worcester was fought on September 3rd. Thousands of Scottish prisoners were taken at various points of their march. The leaders were courtmartialled and executed. Of the common soldiers, one thousand were sent to Bristol for transportation to New England, and there was much discussion as to the fate of another four thousand held in London.[1] Barbados was at the time held by Royalist planters, so that the West Indian plantations were not available. A proposal was made to London merchants trading with the Gold Coast, that the prisoners should be sold to them for work as slaves in the gold-mines of Guinea. The *Weekly Intelligencer* for September 20, 1650, reports that 1,500 of them have been embarked in barges for the Gold Coast, but there is reason to believe that this particular atrocity was never carried out. An order for sixteen hundred prisoners to be shipped to Virginia has also been preserved among the papers of the Council of State, and another for transportation to the Bermudas.[2] But the actual fate of these Scottish prisoners is uncertain. More than one complaint survives that they were still in England, suffering from scurvy and other infectious diseases.[3] It would seem that the merchants of London and Bristol did not reckon such chattel as marketable goods.

One detail in these orders deserves to be noticed. In the first anger after Worcester, it was decreed by the Council of State that all under the degree of field officer—that is to say, all "who are captains or under"—were to be sold for service in the plantations.[4] Hitherto this fate had been reserved for the common soldiers, and it would

[1] For the whole story, Gardiner, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 63.

[2] Cal. State Papers (Colonial), Sept. 10, 1651; Oct. 21, 1651.

[3] Cal. State Papers (Dom.), Nov. 22, 1650; Dec. 2, 1651; *id.* (Colonial), March 1, 1655.

[4] *Id.* (Dom.), Sept. 16, 1651; *id.* (Col.), Sept. 10, 1651.

seem that the harsher sentence was felt to be intolerable; for an order survives of September 22, 1651, "directing the Committee for Prisoners not to pass away to the plantations or otherwise dispose of any lieutenants or cornets of horse, or any above that quality: if any be already disposed of, to give private soldiers in lieu of them."[1] Once again, we shall have to note that these distinctions were not observed in Ireland.

During these two years, 1650 and 1651, there seems to be no record of any Irish prisoners ordered to be transported to the West Indies. Ireton was in command of the Parliamentary army, and his policy was rather directed to getting the Irish to abandon the country for service abroad. His campaign was a series of sieges, and the penalty for resistance was expulsion from the walled town, not massacre nor transportation. Meanwhile the attention of the Council of State was mainly given to the campaigns in Scotland and the North of England. But the Irish entries begin to be frequent from the summer of 1652 onwards, and it is worth noting that from this time the policy of transportation to the plantations appears in a new light. It is no longer a question of disposing with difficulty of prisoners taken in war. Barbados has made its peace with the Commonwealth; relations are constant with Virginia and New England; the Caribbee Islands are beginning to prosper; labour is needed for the exploitation of these colonies; and labour, white or black, must be had at any cost. That is the grim background against which we must read the story of the next five years, as told by the English State Papers.

The first indication of this new policy that I have been able to detect occurs in three orders of the Council of State during the summer of 1652. On July 9th instructions were issued to the Governor of Waterford "to deliver to Robert Cann, Robt. Yate and Thos. Speed, merchants of Bristol, such Irishmen as are now prisoners

[1] *Id.* (Colonial), Sept. 22, 1651.

with him, and as they shall have occasion to make use of, being bound with their ships for the West Indies."[1] Waterford had been cleared of its Irish inhabitants more than a year previously, and the prisoners made in the course of Ireton's campaigns in Munster seem to have been concentrated there. But apparently they were not sufficiently numerous to satisfy the West Indian demands. For a second order of August 20th gives liberty to Henry Hazard and Robert Inmans of the City of Bristol, merchants, "to carry 200 Irishmen from any port in Ireland to the Caribbee Islands, and to Robert Lewellin, of London, merchant, to have 300 men."[2] Six weeks later yet another order is issued to the Commissioners in Ireland "to deliver to Thomas Speed, merchant, of Bristol, from such places as they think fit, 200 Irish rebels to be carried to the Barbadoes for the plantations."[3]

These orders imply a constant supply of suitable material, and the source of this supply is revealed in the Instructions issued to the Commissioners of Ireland under date August 24, 1652 :—[4]

> You are authorised to send for in safe custody, and to commit to prison or otherwise restrain such persons in Ireland (not under the military command) whom you shall at any time find to be anyways dangerous to this Commonwealth, . . . and you are authorised to remove from their places of residence or habitation, and to send into England or other such places as you shall think fit, any persons whose residence in those parts from whence they are to be removed you shall judge dangerous to this Commonwealth or prejudicial to the authority thereof or to the peace of that nation ; and you may give license to any persons that shall be by you so removed to return again to their places of residence or habitation, at any time when you shall see cause for the advantage of the public service there.

This order may be taken as the general warrant under which the transportations of the next five years were effected. But it needs to be brought into connection with

[1] *Id.* (Dom.), July 9, 1652.
[2] *Id.* (Colonial), Aug. 20, 1652.
[3] *Id.* (Dom.), Oct. 7, 1652.
[4] Dunlop, I., p. 263.

another aspect of Government policy at this time. On May 12, 1653, the following order was issued by the Commissioners :—[1]

Upon serious consideration had of the great multitudes of poor swarming in all parts of this nation, occasioned by the devastations of the country, and the habits of licentiousness and idleness which the generality of the people have acquired in the time of this Rebellion, insomuch that frequently some are found feeding on carrion and weeds, some starved in the highways, and many times poor children, who have lost their parents or deserted by them, are found exposed to and some of them fed upon by ravening wolves and other beasts and birds of prey ; the said Commissioners conceive it a duty incumbent upon them to use all honest and laudable ways and means for the relief of such poor people, who have not been in a capacity of drawing upon themselves the guilt of the said Rebellion, and by reason of their years or other impotency are not able to earn their living, and for the disposing of such vagrants and other idle persons (who have able bodies to work) into houses of correction or workhouses, there to be kept at hard labour until they be broken from their idle course of life, and made willing to betake themselves to some honest calling. And forasmuch as at present the poverty of the country is so great and the number of poor, who (by reason of the wasting of the country) have neither friends nor habitations to resort unto, are so many that the ordinary course provided by law for their relief cannot be so effectual as is desired ; and therefore the said Commissioners have resolved, and do hereby order and declare that subscriptions shall be taken in every precinct in Ireland of all such persons (either civil or military) as shall be willing to underwrite any sum of money for the relief or maintenance of poor children,[2] or other the uses aforesaid, for one year next ensuing, to be paid quarterly and some part thereof to be advanced beforehand.

Ten days later the following sinister order was issued by the same Commissioners :[3]—

Ordered that all laws and statutes now in force in the Commonwealth of England for the correction and punishment of rogues,

[1] Dunlop, II., 340.

[2] Irish children were freely transported to England at this time ; Dunlop II., 552 ; 584 ; State Papers (Domestic).

[3] Dunlop, II, 343 (May 23, 1653).

vagrants, sturdy beggars, idle and disorderly persons, and all laws and statutes touching bastardy, swearing, drunkenness, and for relieving and setting of the poor to work, be and are hereby declared to be in force in Ireland.

It will be remembered that it was under the famous Elizabethan statute against " rogues, vagrants and sturdy beggars " that the custom of forced transportation to the overseas plantations had been introduced into England. The application of this Statute to Ireland, coupled with the two orders we have just quoted, left it free for a local magistrate or officer to deport at will almost any person in the kingdom who might happen to be considered undesirable or dangerous to the Commonwealth. The records preserved in the State Papers show how these orders were interpreted by the Government.

During the year 1653 the orders for the transportation of Irish prisoners overseas become increasingly frequent. In February there is an order for the transportation of " 150 or 200 Irish or Scotch youths, unless English can be procured, to be sent to New England, and let out to persons there, who will pay for their service in commodities necessary for shipping."[1] On April 1st there is an order of the Council of State " for a license to Sir John Clotworthy to transport to America 500 natural Irishmen."[2] On May 16th, " upon consideration of the proposals of Joseph Lawrence, merchant, desiring license to transport some of the Irish natives into the Carribbee islands," it is ordered that " the Commissioners who are or shall be appointed overseers for the relief of the poor, within the respective precincts in this nation, do deliver or cause to be delivered to the said Joseph Lawrence . . . such vagrant, idle and incorrigible persons, both men and women, as shall be apprehended and brought before them, and by them or any two or more of them adjudged to be vagrants, idle and incorrigible persons, and shall not be

[1] State Papers (Colonial), 1574-1660, p. 399.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 401.

willing to betake themselves to some honest calling or course of life."[1] On September there is an order for David Selleck, of Boston, New England, merchant, and his agents, "to pass to New England and Virginia, where they intend to carry 400 Irish children."[2] On September 24th there is an order for a license to Richard Netherway, of Bristol, "to transport from Ireland to Virginia 100 Irish Tories."[3] On October 25th of the same year there is an order for Lord Broghill in Cork "to cause search to be made within the said County of Cork for all persons of the Irish nation that are rogues, vagabonds, idlers and wanderers, and such as have no means to get their livelihood by labour or otherwise, or such as being able to labour refuse so to do," and deliver them to Mr. David Sellick and Mr. Leader or their agents, who have been promised by Captain John Vernon "250 Irish women above the age of 12 and under the age of 45 years, and also 300 men above the age of 12 and under the age of 50 years" for transportation to New England. And this arrangement is confirmed by a later order of December 28th.[4]

In the year 1654 the series of orders is continued. On January 20th the Governors of Carlow, Kilkenny, Clonmel, Wexford, Ross and Waterford are authorised to arrest all "vagrants and rogues, men and women, ... and all such children as are in hospitals and workhouses, and all prisoners, men and women, to be transported to the West Indies."[5] On January 30th Oliver Cromwell himself recommends to the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland the petition of some merchants of Bristol for license "to transport 400 of the Irish Tories, and such other idle and vagrant persons as may be thought fittest to be spared out of Ireland, for planting of the Caribee Islands."[6] On June 26th Colonel Stubbers is authorised "to transport out of Connaught for the West Indies three score Irish women that are vagrants, idlers and wanderers, that

[1] Dunlop, II, 341. [2] State Papers (Colonial), p. 407. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 409.
[4] Dunlop, II, 374; 384. [5] Dunlop, II, 400. [6] Dunlop, *ibid.*

do not betake themselves to some lawful way or means for their livelihood and subsistence."[1] And on July 5th the Commissioners of Revenue in Clonmel, Waterford, Wexford, Kilkenny and Carlow are ordered to "deliver all persons in gaol, except those charged with crimes of blood, to John Mylam, merchant, or his agents, to be transported."[2]

During the same summer an intrigue was set on foot to add to the number of Irishmen sentenced to transportation some soldiers who had been got together by Colonel Edmund O'Dwyer, on the understanding that they were to be shipped to Flanders for service under the Prince de Condé. The purpose of this move had been to rid Ireland of what the Government regarded as a burden, and the men had been brought together on Spike Island with a view to their passage to Flanders. But on June 15th the Commissioners write to Colonel Phaire, their Governor in Cork, stating that they find it impossible to transport the men raised in this manner, but that men are wanted in Barbados and the Caribbee Islands, "where they will have as good condition as any English or other servants there, and after four years are to be free to act to their advantage."[3] Fifteen shillings are offered to the officers for every man they bring on board on these terms—provided the officers (Irishmen) are willing to go along with their men to the West Indies. Otherwise the fifteen shillings are to be paid to every Irishman who voluntarily goes on board, "and to have a suit of clothes also." The same is promised to every Irishman put on board, "and for such women as shall go aboard, they are to be provided for as to apparel." If the number of men induced to go on these terms does not amount to 400, then the remainder is to be made up by the usual levy of vagrants and idle persons. Colonel Phaire replied to this letter, stating that there were nearly 700 men on the islands, "350 upon Colonel O'Brien's account, and the like number of the Lord

[1] Dunlop, II, 432. [2] Dunlop, II, 434. [3] Dunlop, II., 430.

Barrymore's, which he engaged upon Colonel O'Dwyer's capitulation." He evidently protested against the proposal of the commissioners, which was indeed plainly a treacherous abuse of the terms granted to the Irish officers. But the Commissioners reply (July 1st) that they have "weighed your reasons dissuading our proceeding, . . and are satisfied that it will be more of public advantage to send that number thither, than to give them the opportunity of continuing in a military capacity so near us, as is intended if sent either into Spain or Flanders."[1] They suggest that the 350 of O'Brien's men should be added to the number collected by O'Dwyer, so that the 400 shipped to the West Indies may thus not be missed. Mr. Charles Andrews, a Dublin merchant, and Mr. Mathias Browne, are named as the undertakers to be made responsible for their transportation; and the order is again renewed on August 26th of the same year.[2]

According to the strict letter of the law there was nothing in all these transactions that could not be warranted by English precedent. "Rogues, vagabonds and idle persons" were liable to transportation in England as in Ireland, and Ligon's narrative has shown us that women were shipped from the London prisons as well as men, boys as well as girls. Technically also the terms offered by the Commissioners to O'Dwyer's men were the terms offered to all prospective bond-servants of the plantations. After four or five or six years service, according to the nature of the bond, the servant was free, and could purchase land for himself in the colony or serve as a free labourer. And the letter in which John Cotton describes the condition of the Scottish prisoners sent to New England after Dunbar shows how fair the prospects of such prisoners were, if they had the good fortune to be bought by a kindly master. But in the first place New England was not the West Indies, where land was scarce and the climate bad, and where the islands were already

[1] Dunlop, II., 433. [2] Dunlop, II, 443.

overcrowded with white and negro labourers. And in the second place it is more than probable that Irish bond-servants, known to be rebels and papists, were less likely to be fairly treated on the plantations than their Scottish fellow-victims. That this is no idle conjecture, so far at least as New England is concerned, can be proved by an Act passed in the General Court of Massachusetts on October 29th, 1654.[1]

> This Court, considering the cruel and malignant spirit that has from time to time been manifest in the Irish nation against this English nation, do hereby declare their prohibition of bringing any Irish, men, women or children, into this jurisdiction, on the penalty of £50 sterling to each inhabitant who shall buy of a merchant, shipmaster or other agent, any such person or persons so transported by them; which fine shall be by the country's marshall levied on conviction of some magistrate or court, one third to be to the use of the informer, and two thirds to the country.
>
> This Act to be in force six months after the publication of this Order.
>
> Signed: Dan. Gookin, Thos. Savage, Roger Clapp, Rich. Russell, Fr. Norton.

And at the same time the English Parliament was asked "to prevent the importation of the Irish papists and convicts that are yearly powr'd upon us, and to make provision against the growth of this pernicious evil."[2]

The attitude thus adopted by the Puritan settlers of New England meant that, for some time at least, all the Irish sentenced to transportation were concentrated on the West Indian plantations of Virginia, Barbadoes, and the Caribbee Islands. Irish emigration to these parts had been constant for thirty years before the Commonwealth's administration, and in Montserrat at least much of the land on the island was actually in the hands of Irishmen. But the men and women sent out by the Commonwealth for service on the island represent a new and formidable element. The whole system of indentured

[1] Published by James D. Butler in the *American Historical Review*, Oct., 1896.

[2] See M. J. O'Brien in the *Journal of American Irish Historical Society*, XII (1913), p. 188.

service was based on the theory of free contract between employer and employed; but there is now no question of free contract. Even the relatively good terms offered by the Commissioners to the Irish soldiers on Spike Island, though meant as an inducement to accept service on the plantations, were plainly viewed with distrust by all concerned. It is more than likely that such of the men as went on board never saw a penny of the money offered to them before embarkation, and the "suit of clothes" offered as an additional inducement was probably no more than the outfit given to every servant at the beginning of his term of labour. For the rest—the "Irish Tories," the "vagrants, rogues and idle persons," the men and women and children who were too poor to maintain themselves at home, and who could find no means of employment in Ireland—the warrant of the Commissioners can have meant little more than immediate arrest, without pretence of any freedom of choice. In practice it must often have been the occasion of simple kidnapping.

Once again we can confirm these obvious conjectures by the evidence of the State Papers. On December 22nd, 1654, the Commissioners-General for Ireland order "some trusty person" to search a ship then in harbour, bound for the Barbadoes, and "inquire what persons are there kept on board, by colour of the late Declaration for the transporting of Vagrants, and whether the master or boatswain of the ship have warrants under the hand of two Justices of the Peace adjudging them Vagrants, and what Justices have signed those warrants."[1] On the same day there is an order that all vessels are to be detained by the Commissioners General "till they have made inquiries that no persons are illegally seized for transportation into the plantations, under colour of the license for transporting of vagrants."[2] On January 24th, 1655, there is a similar order "that a ship bound for Barbados be

[1] Dunlop, II., 467. [2] Dunlop, *ibid.*

searched " ;[1] and again on July 6, 1655, the Commissioners are informed " that, under colour of some late orders from this Board for transporting rogues and vagrants to Barbados, several Irish and others are surreptitiously apprehended and forcibly put on board a ship in this harbour of Dublin, bound for that island, who are not comprehended as vagrants or idlers."[2] Finally, on March 4, 1657, the Council, " having received many complaints of the abuse of some orders granted to several persons to carry away idle and vagabond persons to the West Indies, who . . . employ persons to delude and deceive poor people by false pretences, either by getting them aboard the ships or in other by-places into their power, and forcing them away, the person so employed having so much a-piece for all they so delude, and for the money's sake have enticed and enforced women from their husbands and children from their parents . . . " the Council now " do think fit and order that all orders granted to any person whatsoever (being now in force) be henceforth made null and void " ; and they leave it to the Justices of the Peace to prosecute such idle persons " according to the usual proceedings of justice."[3] The orders which gave these kidnappers their opportunity had been in force for five full years before they were thus finally repealed.

Among all the bitter memories that have been left to the Irish nation by these years of misery and terror, the most bitter—and the most familiar—date from the years 1655 and 1656. To the economic motive of the labour-market is now added a desire to wound and humiliate the spirit of the nation, plainly apparent in the English State Papers ; but the story of that policy must be reserved for a further article.

A. Gwynn

[1] Dunlop, II, 475. [2] Dunlop, II, 528. [3] Dunlop, II, 655.

THE SOVIET FIVE YEAR PLAN

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

AN English version of the Five Year Plan is published by a New York firm under the title of *The Soviet Union Looks Ahead*, and students will find it advisable to read this book before other criticisms and commentaries. From the nature of its being the Soviet Government was bound to produce some plan of economic development. Every big firm works to plans made for years ahead, and the Soviet has taken upon itself the task of functioning as a leviathan business undertaking, owning and controlling, as in the Socialist formula, the means of production, distribution and exchange in the New Russia. In the first flush of revolutionary success the Sovietists hardly appreciated the necessity of plans. Peasants took over the estates of the landlords, and workers took over the factories of the capitalists, and there was a childlike belief that the main part of Socialism had been accomplished and that the human race, at least in Russia, would live happily ever after. It did not work out like that at all. The peasants showed they regarded themselves simply as individual proprietors; and though the big landlords had been eliminated, there were still different kinds of peasants, some prosperous, some indigent, some able to employ labour, others having to work for wages. This was not to the taste of the Soviet Government, which found among the peasantry, with their increased holdings, a mentality anything but favourable to Socialist ideas. The workers who took over the factories were anxious for Socialism, but they demonstrated that workers' control meant only chaos. Something in the nature of State control of the factories was the only alternative to a reversion to capitalism. The smashing-up of landlordism

and capitalism and the first new economic experiments were carried on to the accompaniment of civil wars. The Government felt itself forced to adopt all sorts of rough and ready methods of obtaining supplies, as by confiscating the produce of the peasants. These desperate expedients were elevated into a system and called "military communism" by doctrinaires who could not believe that anything was not for the best when done by a Revolutionary Socialist Government. What with the aftermath of war and famine and crazy economics the position became so critical that Lenin gained the Soviet round to the New Economic Policy, which was a retreat from Communism while it mapped out a programme of State Socialism and gave considerable scope to private enterprise and private property. The New Economic Policy saved Russia from the abyss. Production and trade began to revive. From the Soviet point of view the defect of the New Economic Policy was that private interests had too great a part in the revival. The New Economic Policy (N.E.P.) gave the name as well as being to the hated Nepman, or private trader, and his agricultural counterpart was the kulak, or peasant who was relatively prosperous.

The Soviet Government would be menaced in its very existence by an undue development of private economic activities. It was a political necessity to maintain and increase the socialised elements. This was one reason, and the more important reason, for favouring industry rather than agriculture. On purely economic grounds the development of industry must appeal to any Russian Government that wishes to make the country more self-sufficing, and the Soviet had the additional motive that it rests politically on the support of the industrial workers and does not get on very well with the peasant proprietors, who will never be Socialists as long as they are proprietors of their holdings, however small. This is why the Soviet is biassed in favour of large, mechanized

farms worked by wage-earners. Factory farms may or may not be more economic than family farms, but they certainly lend themselves more easily to socialization.

The Soviet Government had really no alternative to making plans for the whole of Russia and for a period measured in years. It need not have adopted anything so ambitious as the Five Year Plan, and it need not have advertised it so widely and staked so much on its success. The course adopted seems to have been inspired by considerations of psychological appeal. A big scheme would rouse the country to correspondingly big efforts. Though big and ambitious, the Plan cannot, *prima facie*, be dismissed as impossible, and, on paper at least, it exhibits the qualities of proportion and coherence. A reader can most easily obtain a broad grasp of its elements by thinking of the physical connection between them. The final result may be stated as a tremendous expansion of the production of material goods in Russia. This requires a multiplication of machines. The making of machines depends on the metallurgical industries, which depend on mining, and everything depends on power supplies—coal, electricity and oil. Besides the things that are made and those that are mined are those that are grown : crops, lumber, livestock, all necessary to the working of the machines as well as to the subsistence of the population. Transportation is also to be considered and must be developed to keep pace with the increasing production. Besides material factors such as those enumerated are the financial and the personal : money has to be found for all these developments, and workers have to be found with the technical and other qualifications for all the tasks of the most advanced and scientific industry. The authors of the Plan have not overlooked these prime requisites. On paper, at least, the programme is carefully detailed.

Our machines require power, says the Plan, and the total power produced in the Soviet Union must be 58·8

billion kilowatt hours, including animal power, by the end of the five years. This would be an increase during the period of 77½ per cent. Electric power has to increase from something like 5 billion kwh. to 22 billion. This is going to cost a lot of money, over three billion roubles. Electrification is the favourite child of the Soviet planners. They recite Lenin's formula: Electrification+Soviets= Socialism. The highest wages in Russia are paid to the electrical workers. In the first two years of the Plan electrical progress has been ahead of the schedule, and one need not doubt that the objective of 22 billion kwh. will be reached by 1933. Yet it may be remarked that Canada, with one-fifteenth the population of Russia, had an output of 18½ billion kwh. in 1929, and has been increasing it by over two billions every year since 1925, so that if normal progress is maintained by Canada she will still be ahead of Russia in absolute output of electricity on the completion of the Plan. This fact shows that, while the rate of progress in Russia may be spectacular, the actual achievements will still leave Russia a comparatively backward country in 1933.

The Plan says: "The problem of electric development is closely connected with that of the fuel industries in general, and of the coal industry in particular." Fuel supply could prove a limiting factor in the progress of the Plan. Production of coal is to increase from 35,400,000 to 75,000,000 tons. A capital investment of 1,250 million roubles is to be made in the industry during the five years. The Plan itself raises some doubts of the possibility of the desired increase of production in the period; for even some of the prospecting surveys had not been undertaken, and where new pits had been decided upon the detailed plans had not been prepared. During the first year of the Plan coal production was about 1½ million tons below the programme figure of 41,100,000 tons. An account of the results of the first year is published in America under the title of *Soviet Economic Development and American*

Business, by Saul G. Bron, a Soviet official. During the second year, the coal industry was again disappointing; Soviet figures give the output as 46,000,000 tons, which, though below the Plan figures, are higher than one would expect in view of the reports in the Soviet press of serious troubles in the Donetz coalfields. According to these reports, the miners have been deserting the mines and going to the farms, the quality of the coal has been bad, and mechanized coal-getting has proved costlier than manual labour.

The other important fuel, oil, has done exceedingly well. The output in 1929-30 was over 17 million tons against the original plan for 14 millions. In the production of iron and steel there has been progress according to plan, with impressive percentages of annual increase. Yet when it is said that the production in 1929-30 of pig-iron was 5 million tons, of rolled iron 4½ million tons, and of steel 5½ million tons it is evident that Russia remains an inferior metallurgical producer compared with other countries. She is now only 25 per cent. higher than her pre-war level in the heavy industries.

It is not necessary for the purposes of this article to examine each industry in turn, like engineering, building, textiles, transportation, and so on. There have been successes here and failures there, but for industry as a whole during the first year of the Plan the net result was considered gratifying. A total industrial output was obtained worth 22,292 million roubles on the basis of 1926-27 prices, against the Plan estimate of 21,164 million roubles. The declared reduction in the cost of production was not so satisfactory: it amounted only to 5 per cent., instead of the 7 per cent. aimed at. Confining our attention for the moment to the first year we may observe that critics assert that the foregoing figures of quantitative production are misleading, because they do not reveal the decline in the quality of the goods produced. It is asserted, on the strength of the admissions in the Soviet press,

that the pressure to show reduced costs of production has forced producers to turn out inferior goods. On this point, as on many others, the reader will find valuable information in *Annals of Collective Economy*, an international review published in Geneva, the issue for January-August, 1930, being devoted almost entirely to the Five Year Plan, with contributions by believers and critics, among the latter being the Russian economist, Professor Procopovicz, now living at Prague. There can be no doubt whatever of the serious deterioration in quality being a fact, though we cannot say exactly how much discount it should make against the above-quoted figures of quantitative production.

Of the results during the second year it is even more difficult to speak. There has been a good grain harvest, but we know that things have not gone well in the coal industry, and there may have been other breakdowns. People who have been in Russia during 1930 and whom I know personally give me a description of conditions much worse than those I saw myself in 1929. The London *Nation*, which has always tried to make the best possible case for Soviet Russia, has recently expressed misgivings at the sudden silence which has descended on Soviet statisticians. One of the most eminent of these gentlemen has been put in prison as a counter-revolutionary! The London *Times*, on November 1 last, published figures showing a sensational increase in currency circulation in the Soviet Union. On October 1, 1924, it was 627,200,000 roubles, twelve months later 1,142,900,000 roubles, on October 1, 1929, 2,642,200,000 roubles, and on August 1, 1930, 3,860,200,000 roubles. These figures are official. It is known there was a large increase of treasury notes, silver and copper currency during August, and if the banknotes increased proportionately the *Times* correspondent says the circulation on September 1, would be 4,750,000,000 roubles, which means that the currency in circulation has doubled in twelve months.

As there is no increase of consumable goods in Russia, it would seem that the stupendous increase in paper money and token coins must have caused a considerable rise in prices. Russian statistics show hardly any change in prices, which leads justifiably to the conclusion that the price statistics are not reliable. The *Times* correspondent gives a number of other facts about the depreciation of Russian money, and says: "By all currency tests, the economic controllers of Soviet Russia lost control last April and are now speeding to a crisis . . . by next spring the rouble will be worth only its weight in waste paper, and the country will again be on a permit and barter currency." He adds that an internal currency collapse might affect "the ability of the Soviet Government to honour the terms of credit arrangements entered into with foreign sellers."

One may doubt whether a rouble collapse would of itself affect the Soviet's ability to pay foreign creditors. I do not imagine any foreign creditors have contracted to be paid in roubles, and as long as the Soviet has exportable goods for which there are foreign markets it will be able to get foreign currency with which to pay its foreign creditors. It is the Russian people who will have been swindled—the word is not too strong—by being paid in worthless paper. Possibly they have been in this position for some time past. Everyone in Russia has known that it was one thing to have roubles and quite another to be able to get goods for them. But inflation does not work in Russia as it would in other countries where the Government did not ration out necessaries at fixed prices. The rationed commodities need not go up in price, despite the depreciation of the currency, but unrationed goods might be unpurchasable with roubles. In other words, people in Russia would be getting rations from the Government and nothing else of real value: they might be getting roubles, but these would be waste paper.

My own view is that inflation in Russia, while a symptom of weakness, is not necessarily the cause of evils such as would follow under a regime of private property and private enterprise. If the Soviet can increase the production of wealth while restricting consumption, it will come out the winner. Taking this view, we must proceed to consider the Five Year Plan for agriculture. The original programme was to increase the area sown by 22 per cent., agricultural output by 55 per cent., with an increased cereal yield of 25 per cent. per acre, while reducing costs of agricultural production by 4 per cent. Russia starts with a yield of 10¼ bushels of wheat per acre. This is only two-thirds of what Canada would consider an average yield, and agriculture is not nearly as intensive in Canada as in Western European countries. Starting from such a low level it would not be a wonderful technical achievement for Russia to reach the standards set. Moreover, it must be remembered that Russia's population should increase by 12 per cent. in the five years. Professor Procopovicz, in the article already mentioned, brings out the interesting point that the Plan in its original form had a relatively moderate programme of collectivization of farming. It provided for a population of 122,000,000 on private farms as against 1,400,000 on collective farms at the end of the five years. The Plan is now drastically revised, and practically the whole of the cultivated land is to be socialized by 1933.

The course of events has been perplexing. The process of collectivization met with fierce resistance from the peasants, who slaughtered their livestock rather than let it be taken over for the collective farms. Stalin himself had to call a halt to collectivization. Yet collectivization had already spread far beyond the provisions of the Plan. It appears that, though the peasants hated collectivization and in some regions resisted it effectively, there were many places where the peasants despaired of trying to carry on their individual farms under the conditions imposed by the

Soviet, and they cast in their lot with the collectives as the lesser evil. The world knows that during the present year Russia has exported more grain than in any other year since 1914. Reliable statistics are not yet available, but it is certain that Soviet grain exports have been very heavy indeed. This does not prove that collectivization has been a success. Collective operations may be said to have only begun with the spring sowing in 1930. The weather, of course, can make an enormous difference to the harvest in any year. Canada, for example, had a wheat yield of 567 millions bushels in 1928, and only 300 million bushels in 1929, though she had a larger acreage under crops in the latter year. Russia, in 1926, had a wheat yield 20 per cent. higher than in 1929, which was the first year under the Plan. The large grain exports this year do not mean that there has been a correspondingly large yield, for it is known that food rationing is more stringent this year than in previous years. Nor would an increased yield be proof of a more efficient and economic system, even apart from the question of weather conditions. What have been the costs of production on the collective farms? Is a proper allowance made for depreciation of the tractors and other mechanical apparatus in which the Soviet puts so much faith? Will the overhead and depreciation costs, which are as high when the harvest is bad as when it is good, pay for their keep in the lean years?

The Soviet is heavily handicapped in its policy of mechanization by lack of experience of the population in the use of machinery and by the low standard of education. The Plan itself states: "There is already felt a growing contradiction between the efficiency of the new equipment and the low technical culture of the worker attending it." There are schemes of training by short intensive courses, and it has been decided that the numbers of technical experts required can only be obtained by shortening the courses in the Russian schools and colleges. This is not

a healthy sign. A Soviet report on the State grain farms at the beginning of this year complained of an unintelligent distribution of light and heavy tractors, the former being too frequently used and excessively worn out. The lighter types were worn out up to 42 and 53 per cent., which meant that an appreciable number of tractors will be old iron by next year and will have to be replaced. A Soviet newspaper recently said that of 18,000 tractors needing repair, less than 2,000 had received attention. There are serious complaints of the bad quality of tractors and rails produced in the Soviet factories. The deterioration in quality of output, which was the most unfavourable development during the second year of the Plan, applies to goods for production as well as for consumption. The shortage of skilled workers makes those available very independent, and they leave one job and go in search of another for what appear to be very flimsy reasons. The Soviet managers have to deplore what they call the high labour "turnover"; it is detrimental to efficiency when the labour force is constantly changing.

The Plan, if it is to succeed, cannot afford inefficiency, for it is essential not only to raise the volume of production but to decrease costs. The financial task that the Soviet has set itself is staggering. The total amount of financing of the Five Year Plan is 86 billion roubles (£8,600 millions), not including trading capital. Some of this money goes on social services, defence and general administration. But it has got to be raised by the State. The Plan takes 38 per cent. of the total national production during the first year and 53 per cent. in the fifth year. Something like one-half the money is to be obtained by taxation, a tenth by social insurance, which is a form of taxation, and most of the balance is to be provided out of the profits of State enterprises and by the State banking system. It appears that the State enterprises will have to make a profit of 20 per cent. on their capital if the Plan is to be fulfilled. As for the

proportion of the national income which the State will apply to industrial developments, it implies that a poor country like Russia will have a rate of saving more than twice as high as the richest countries in the world. Russia will be devoting a larger proportion of her income to capital investments than Britain applied to the waging of war during 1914-18.

The capital investments are being made at the expense of present consumption, and the Soviet is in a position to impose rigorous privations on the whole population. Acquaintances of my own, returned from Leningrad and Moscow during recent months, have told me of the wretchedness and dearness of the food and the prevalence of diseases due to food poisoning and under-feeding. Practically everything is rationed, not only food, but clothes and boots. The present generation is being called upon to make sacrifices for the future. Millions of tons of grain are being shipped from the Black Sea ports to foreign markets, while the people of Central Russia are short of bread. Butter is shipped to England and sold at world prices, and it is actually bought in London by the Russian sailors, who smuggle it back to Russia, where it is not allowed to be sold to the ordinary population.

In this article consideration has been confined to the working of the Five Year Plan and not to the deeper question of the working of Communism or Socialism. Speaking in the broadest terms, the Plan depends on ability to speed up production and keep down consumption. The Soviet, thanks to the submissiveness of the people, may achieve the latter, though there are reports that even such men as Rykov are objecting to the export of food that is urgently needed by the masses at home. The productive task, if accomplished, would be comparable to what other countries did during the Great War. It would not be so unprecedented, viewed merely as a development of production, as panegyrists have made out. It would still leave Russia a long way behind the

more advanced industrial countries. What would make the success of the Plan phenomenal would be its achievement in such a backward country as Russia. Perhaps the industrialization of Japan is the closest parallel that could be quoted, and Japan had much more aid from foreign capital than has been given to the Soviet. The results of the first two years of the Plan are not decisive. A favourable impression is given by the figures of quantitative output, but against this must be set evidence of deterioration in quality. The planned reduction in producing costs has not been effected, yet the reduction is essential to the finance of the scheme. The recent inflation of the currency is a development which cannot be interpreted with certainty until we have more knowledge about it; but, *prima facie*, it looks as if the controllers of the Soviet Union have found themselves unable to finance the Plan out of taxes, profits and loans, and have been driven to the fatal resort of the printing press. If this should prove to be so, it will be a confession of failure of the Plan.

NOTES

The following notes on a few of the most outstanding economic projects and achievements of the Soviet Union will give some idea of the grandiose elements of the Five Year Plan:—

The Dnieprostroy.—This is the name for what will be the largest hydro-electric plant in Europe, built under the direction of an American, Colonel Hugh L. Cooper. It will have an ultimate capacity of 800,000 horsepower, will extend navigation on the Dnieper river for hundreds of miles, and will furnish cheap power to a large mining and industrial district, while irrigating hundreds of thousands of acres of arid land. The cost is estimated at £20,000,000. It should be finished in 1932.

The Siberian-Turkestan Railway.—About 920 miles, begun early in 1927, now completed. It connects the cotton-growing regions of Central Asia with the grain-producing lands in Siberia. Before this line was built, freight had to travel more than twice the distance. Timber, coal, iron and other minerals will now be taken to Central Asia. The line goes through a mountainous and desert section. The cost is said to have been £20,000,000.

Volga-Don Canal.—This has been talked about since the sixteenth century. The Volga is the greatest river in Europe, and the canal will give direct outlet to the Black Sea. The Volga basin is rich in natural resources and has a favourable geographical situation. It contains large industrial cities, like Nizhni-Novgorod, with an auto-

mobile works producing 100,000 cars a year, and Stalingrad, with a factory producing 50,000 tractors a year. The canal will make the anthracite of the Donetz basin available to the Volga region and thus solve the power problem. The estimated cost is £17,500,000.

Peat.—Mr. G. T. Grinko, the present Commissar of Finance of Soviet Russia, in his book on the Five Year Plan, says : " The Central Industrial Region, the Leningrad, Ural and White Russian districts, as well as many other sections suffering from a lack of other fuels, possess enormous peat reserves—about 75 per cent. of the world's total. It is well known that the genius of Lenin was much occupied with the problem of using peat as a fuel, especially for industry ; and the Soviet Union has already made substantial progress in the production of peat. Some powerful electric stations built in recent years by the Soviet Government are working successfully and economically with peat as fuel. The work of the State Peat Institute, formed after the October Revolution, has received honourable mention from the International Power Congress.

" Quite naturally the Five Year Plan contains an impressive programme of peat production. Under its provisions the output of this material is being increased from 5.5 million tons in 1927-1928 to 18 or 20 million tons in 1932-1933. A number of the powerful electric power plants in the Central Industrial Region, Leningrad and Ural, will depend on peat as their basic fuel. It has already been noted that two-thirds of the 800,000 kilowatt power increase to be developed by the plants of the Moscow industrial district will be produced from peat.

" The aggregate of capital investments in the peat industry during the present period is to reach about 200 million roubles."

Giant Farms.—Lord Ernle, who is a leading authority on agriculture in England, speaking in the House of Lords, on November 13th, on the condition of agriculture in England, said : " Extremely injudicious language had been used by the Minister of Agriculture. He had spoken of small-holdings and large farms. What did that mean but an attempt to penalize the farmer ? Small-holdings, apparently, were to be created, not to keep skilled men on the land, but for the benefit of the industrial unemployed. By the formation of large arable farms fresh unemployment would be created. No doubt the Government had followed the example of Russia, where huge farms were being created. In 1934, when the end of the Five Year Plan came, the Russians were confident that they would have 75 million acres of land under tillage for corn and other grain. That was double the area of England and Wales. These farms were cultivated by American machines of the caterpillar kind, each of which would plough 30 acres in a day of eight hours. Double shifts were worked, so each machine ploughed 60 acres a day. On one particular farm of 155,000 acres, 2,500 workers were brought there for the sowing in the spring and employed for nine days. In the autumn, for the ploughing, 9,000 men were employed for 18 days. That was an instance of how the creation of big farms diminished employment on the land. Were the Government prepared to face the menace of the dumping of Russian wheat into this country ? "

H. Somerville

ORIGINS AND IDEALS OF IRISH MONASTICISM

BY JOHN RYAN, S.J., M.A.

CHRISTIAN monasticism recognizes Egypt as its birthplace, and traces its history back to the beginning of the fourth century. It claims precursors in the ascetics, who from the early ages of the Church lived secluded and austere lives in their own homes, abstaining from marriage, keeping fasts and vigils, devoting themselves to contemplation and to the practice of every good work. The ascetics, again, drew their inspiration from the evangelical counsels; whence the conclusion is obvious that the ultimate ancestry of Christian monasticism must be sought in these. For the monk, in other words, as before him for the ascetic, the aim of his well-ordered mode of life was the perfect following of Christ. When a number of ascetics, intent on this purpose, grouped themselves into an organized social unit, with common means towards the common end, monasticism had begun to be.

This stage was reached in a hilly region on the right bank of the Nile about A.D. 305. A holy man named Anthony had been living then for some twenty years in a disused fort on the mountain-side, rarely seen by the prying eyes of men, lost in prayer and in a daily round of self-imposed laborious tasks, completely isolated. But the fame of his virtues had been noised abroad, and one day the lonely hermit saw his fort besieged and stormed. The newcomers, who had pressed themselves thus rudely on his notice, were ascetics like himself, determined to become his disciples. There was no gainsaying their demand; so in a moment of high importance for the future of the Church the venerable anchorite emerged from his solitude to teach, advise and direct a group of

enthusiastic followers. Strange, indeed, was the spectacle when the inhospitable mountain waste became thronged like a busy city and the ancient peaks re-echoed sounds unrecorded in their midst since the creation of the world. The multitude of hermits dwelt in separate cells, and spent their days in pious reading, prayer, the chanting of psalms, and the performance of manual work. Fasts were many and strict. Charity unfeigned reigned in the hearts of all. From time to time Anthony called them together and expounded in brief homilies the principles by which their lives should be governed. It was the dawn of Christian monasticism.

Just at the same period, and again in Egypt, but three hundred miles further to the south, the monastic system reached complete development under St. Pachomius. The future patriarch had begun religious life as a hermit. When disciples gathered round him he conceived the idea of placing them all under one roof, subjecting them all to one detailed rule and to his own and his successors' authority. The innovation, of course, was criticised; but its success was immediate and lasting. Pachomius had soon a hundred disciples, and before he died in A.D. 346 his settlements had multiplied and his monks were numbered by thousands. Even monasteries for women had come into being at his word. Cenobitism, or monasticism in the strict sense, thus owes its origin to his energy and his initiative.

The leading feature of the Pachomian system was the establishment of a fixed minimum of observance that would be obligatory upon all. Physical discomfort was not greater than the average child of Adam could bear—given good-will and a reasonable degree of bodily health. Greater austerity of life was permitted, and even recommended, to those who had zeal and strength enough to undertake it; always, however, without prejudice to obedience. The last-named virtue acquired, indeed, an importance that had never before been attached to it in

the ascetical life. Remarkable in the Pachomian institute was a highly centralized form of government, characteristic of a fully organised Congregation or Order. Remarkable, too, is the prominence given to work. Amongst the anchorites this was of a sedentary kind, and its purpose was to fill in time not occupied with contemplation or spiritual reading. In the Pachomian monasteries it was undertaken for its own sake as an ascetical exercise; it was strenuous in form (tillage and various laborious trades), and it alternated with prayer and psalmody in the busy routine of the lengthy day.

Monasticism in its loose semi-eremitical or in its stricter cenobitical form soon spread throughout the Christian world. Cenobitical life remained essentially what Pachomius had left it, though with many additions and modifications, according to the character and needs of those who had adopted it. Thus Schenoudi of Atripe, on the west bank of the Nile, demanded from each monk a formal declaration in writing and before witnesses that he would observe the Rule. He also admitted that the anchoretical way of life was superior to the cenobitical, and therefore allowed monks of approved virtue to retire to a hermitage. In the monasteries founded in Palestine by St. Jerome, Rufinus and Melania the Elder, the Pachomian foundations were taken as a model; but the copying of manuscripts seems to have been the only form of manual work known, and psalmody took place at regular intervals many times during the day and night. In Syria and Mesopotamia hermits were much more common than cenobites, and the life led was penitential even to extravagance. St. Basil in Cappadocia set his face against Syrian customs and adopted the Pachomian system; repressing, however, all individualism in the practice of austerity and ascetical exercises. Cenobitism for him was the highest form of life.

At Vercelli, under St. Eusebius, and at Hippo, under St. Augustine, the clerical and the cenobitical states of

life were united, for the clergy were induced to take upon themselves monastic obligations. Elsewhere in Italy and Africa there were monasteries of the ordinary Pachomian type. St. Martin, at Tours, combined the life of a monk with that of a bishop and a missionary preacher. His settlements at Ligugé and Marmontier were, however, semi-eremitical rather than cenobitical in character.

Honoratus, at Lérins, founded his monastery frankly after Egyptian models. The framework of his system was Pachomian, but much greater stress was laid upon solitude than at Tabennisi. Cassian, his contemporary and friend, gave support to this practice in the two fine works which convey his theory of the spiritual life. The monastery was thus utilised for purposes of purgation, and when the monk had arrived at the stage where he was capable of uninterrupted contemplation he retired to the "desert" and lived there as an anchorite. The religious and moral perfection needed before the monk could aspire to such heights was pursued within the monastery with immense zeal. Poverty, chastity, obedience, fasts, vigils, Bible-reading, were practised as in Egypt. In liturgical prayer, and especially in the possession of beautiful hymns, the monks of Lérins were far in advance of the Egyptians. The insular situation of the monastery must not be overlooked, for considerable advantage was derived from it in an age of general destruction and terrible political unrest. Most important of all, however, was the development in the island paradise of a new learning, based on the old learning of the rhetorical schools, even if completely different in character. Oratory was no longer the aim, but rather the profound knowledge of Holy Writ and a deeper understanding of the truths of faith. In the first half of the fifth century Lérins was the holy isle *par excellence* of the whole Occident.

Here St. Patrick studied, and here he acquired that complete mastery of the Holy Scriptures and that solid grounding in Catholic teaching which stood him in such good

stead when he came to Ireland. He was therefore no ignorant man, though he had not received that training in the artificial rhetoric of the schools which in his day was almost synonymous with learning. Many of those who were called his " monks " were doubtless trained in the same monastery, among them Assicus, who was placed as bishop and abbot at Elphin, and who showed his predilection for the anachoretical way of life by running away to Donegal, where he eluded the search of his followers for seven years.

Not, however, until the first quarter of the sixth century did the progress of monasticism in Ireland begin to reach phenomenal proportions. This time again the impulse came from Lérins, if indirectly through the British monasteries closely connected with the Mediterranean foundation. This connection probably goes back to the days of St. Patrick himself. It is found in the second half of the fifth century when a Briton, Faustus, was abbot of Lérins, and a British bishop and monk, Riocatus, carried books from the island sanctuary back to his own country. The tradition coming from Lérins appears at Llanilltud, whence it passed to Langarvan under Cadoc and to Gildas. These two British churchmen influenced St. Finnian of Clonard, through whom the Lérins tradition was introduced once more into Ireland. As the land was now Christian and as Finnian was the revered head of a mighty school, the tradition took strong root and by the end of the sixth century was supreme throughout the country. As at Lérins so in Ireland moral and religious perfection is the monks' aim ; the anachoretical is held in greater esteem than the cenobitical form of life ; and higher studies, exegetical and theological in character (prepared for by a wide study of Latin authors, pagan as well as Christian), are a normal feature of monastic life. The Irish system of monasticism (for by A.D. 600 the manner of observance, save in insignificant points of detail, was the same in all Irish monasteries) thus hails

remotely from Egypt, more proximately from Lérins; whence it came at first directly through St. Patrick, but in circumstances so unfavourable that it made no striking impression, then indirectly through Britain, to enter on a triumphant course that did not cease for centuries.

The elements of Irish monasticism are all found elsewhere, if nowhere all together. Original in Ireland is the combination of elements and the emphasis laid on some rather than others, with the result that the system has an individuality very distinctly its own.[1] Surprising in the first place is the combination of apostolical and anachoretical ideals. The monk pines for the desert, where he hopes one day to settle permanently, yet meanwhile he has intense interest in the spiritual welfare of the world. He is ready and even anxious to perform the duties ordinarily entrusted to the secular clergy (who by their profession have to mix with men), and when he travels abroad to break the dearest ties that bind him to earth he cannot refrain from missionary work. St. Martin may have been his exemplar in this respect; Lérins certainly was not. For this reason again the abbots regularly and many of the Irish monks received ecclesiastical orders, yet no Irish monastery bore much resemblance to the communities ruled by St. Eusebius and St. Augustine. These were houses of clergy who happened to be monks; the Irish were communities of monks who happened in part to be clergy. The essence of monasticism might seem to be retirement from the world, contemplation, peace; yet the very life-breath of Irish monasticism seems to be apostolic work for souls.

Severe bodily austerity is a marked feature of the Irish monastic system. This is found everywhere in Egypt, though reduced in the Pachomian foundations to a measure which could be borne without difficulty. In Ireland little

[1] For the full treatment of all that is here said about Irish monasticism and for proof of the statements made I must refer to my forthcoming book entitled *The Origins and Early Development of Irish Monasticism.*

effort at restraint can be discovered. The quantity of food and drink is reduced to the barest minimum, and its quality is expected to be extremely unappetising. Battling with sleep was a common form of ascetism; but the amount of unbroken slumber which could have been enjoyed by the least fervent does not seem to have been considerable, for the number and length of the night offices of prayer put prolonged rest out of the question. Regulations regarding clothes and furniture were governed by the view that it was almost impossible to exceed in poverty. Added to these mortifications were exposure to heat and cold, labours undertaken to wear down the body, various individual exercises of ascetism voluntarily undertaken. Again the desert was the goal held out to every monk, and if he failed to reach it during life he might at least abide there temporarily once or oftener in the year. Austerities of all sorts were expected to accompany these periods of lonely contemplation—fasts, vigils, exposure, nakedness, self-inflicted penances. The preoccupation with austerities which runs through all Irish ascetical writings even of a late period shows that this was the national tradition. Thus, though the body of Irish monasticism was predominantly cenobitical, the spirit which animated it was everywhere anachoretical.

Noteworthy, too, is the apparently matter-of-fact way in which zeal for studies, the higher as well as the lower, is worked into the Irish system. Such a union of hard study and hard discipline is unique, unless it be at Lérins, where the severity of the life led by the brethren is unknown to us. Its explanation in Ireland is probably to be sought in the native schools of druids, fáthi, filid, bards, which preceded Christianity. The monks were felt to be the successors to the two orders first mentioned of these, and thus were expected to apply themselves not only to religion, but also to the cultivation of the intellect. When they likewise took up the study of the native language and literature, their extraordinary position in

the life of the country was assured. Owing to the Celtic, as distinct from the imperial, character of Irish civilisation, many small features of monastic life in Ireland have no parallels elsewhere. In a category by itself must be placed the prominence of abbots as ecclesiastical rulers, a development which arose partly from the popularity of the monastic institute and partly, perhaps, from an ascetical fear of the worldly advantages then commonly attached to the episcopal office in Christian lands.

As the Irish and Benedictine observances[1] came into conflict in England and Gaul in the seventh century, and the former was eliminated by the latter, it may be well to sketch briefly the chief differences between the two. St. Benedict (who died about A.D. 553—some years after St. Finnian of Clonard) found before him in Italy a great body of monastic traditions going back ultimately to Egypt. In early life he was completely under the influence of these. Having left Rome as a youth somewhere about A.D. 496, he lived for awhile with "holy men," then suddenly withdrew to a cave at Subiaco. For three years his life was that of an anchorite. He surpassed in his love for retirement the great majority of his Egyptian exemplars, for he spent three years evidently without Mass or Communion or any part whatever in the liturgical life of the Church. His whereabouts and his holy life becoming known, he was elected abbot of a monastery at Vicovaro. For unexplained reasons his failure in this office was complete, and he returned again to Subiaco. Disciples gathered about him, and a colony of anchorites after the Egyptian model was soon formed. According to the account left by St. Gregory the Great, a local priest persecuted the colony, and Benedict felt himself constrained to move to another site. Monte Cassino was chosen as the most suitable place for this purpose. A new monastery was built, with a basilica in honour of St. Martin, an

[1] Butler: *Benedictine Monachism*, London, 1924. Hilpisch, *Geschichte des benediktinischen Mönchtums*. Freiburg i. Br., 1929. Chapman: *St. Benedict and the Sixth Century*. London, 1929.

oratory in honour of St. John the Baptist, a guest-house, workshops, and a place for books. Here St. Benedict wrote his Rule and here he died. About A.D. 581 Monte Cassino was sacked by the Lombards and its community migrated to Rome, where a new monastery was founded beside the Lateran. Nothing is known of this. When, however, St. Gregory the Great, before he became Pope, established the monastery of St. Andrew on the Coelian Hill, he came into touch with the Benedictine Monks, and probably derived much from their institute. With the mission of St. Augustine to Canterbury the Benedictine Rule was brought to England and, aided by the Popes, began to make headway there and elsewhere.

St. Benedict, when he came to draw up his Rule at Monte Cassino, felt it wise to depart from monastic tradition as then known in a number of important respects. His experience at Subiaco and at Vicovaro had taught him that however excellent the customs derived from Egypt might be in themselves, they certainly were not suited to the characters with whom he lived in daily contact. The rigours of the Eastern discipline were altogether beyond what Italians of the sixth century would tolerate. Leaving such rigours aside, St. Benedict set himself to compose, in his own words, "a very little rule for beginners." "We are going," he says in the Prologue, "to set up a school in God's service, in which we shall establish nothing harsh, nothing burthensome." He speaks with admiration of the eremitical life, then, as we have seen, commonly regarded as the most perfect realization of the religious ideal, but for this very reason he does not deal with it further. He legislates only for cenobites, those "who serve as Christ's soldiers under a rule or abbot," and who are determined to persevere in the monastery until death. On this point he lays great weight, much greater than any of his predecessors among the monastic founders; much greater than the Irish fathers, who did not think themselves justified in holding

back a monk who wished to transfer himself to a monastery where the discipline was more austere. The monastery for St. Benedict is to be a family where all the members persevere till death. As a school of God's service it is to have three main duties—self-renunciation, prayer, work. In keeping with this principle that there should be "nothing harsh, nothing burthensome," these duties were to be none too onerous. The word "mortification" is studiously avoided. In the matter of diet St. Benedict allows each monk a pound of bread daily, two dishes of cooked food, and a third of fruit or young vegetables, a menu that would have shocked the Fathers of the desert and have sounded incredible to Irish ears. He allows also more than half a pint of wine every day. During the greater part of the year his monks enjoyed more than eight hours of unbroken sleep every night; during the summer months five or six hours by night and a siesta by day. Not only a blanket, but a mattress, coverlet and pillow were permitted, so that the monk could rest in comfort. New clothes are to be provided before the old ones are worn out. Clothes are to fit properly, and must be warmer in winter, lighter in summer. Two cowls or cloaks, a liberal supply of shoes, socks and similar articles were also added, in contrast to the utter poverty and nakedness which was the Egyptian (and the Irish) ideal. The elements of monasticism preserved by the Saint are all traditional. Thus, in the composition of his Rule, he draws on the writings of Cassian and St. Basil, the monastic letter of St. Augustine, the Apophthegmata or Sayings of the Fathers, the Latin translation of the Rule of Pachonius, and other early sources. Having, however, deliberately discarded eremitical life, severe bodily austerities, individualistic spirituality, prolonged psalmody, and centralized organization after the Pachomian model (adopted, too, by St. Columcille and St. Columban), St. Benedict in his Rule is said rightly by Dom Butler to represent less a development than a revolution.

If, again, the Benedictine Rule is remarkable for its spirit, it is no less remarkable for its form. It is really the first monastic rule that can be called genuine legislation. Before its time all the documents designated "Rules" are but brief treatises on the monastic virtues, arranged without much order, with directions here and there on isolated points of conduct. St. Basil's "Rules" are replies to questions of the most varied kinds, many of them having no connection whatever with monasticism. St. Columban's "Rule for Monks" deals wholly with the fundamental virtues, and his "Domestic Rule" is a mere penal code. Monasteries at this period were, in fact, ruled by custom, not by law, and great latitude was left to the abbot, who could make his personality felt in a very effective way. St. Benedict's Rule changes all this. It is legislative in form and well ordered, a phenomenon due, as has often been suggested, to the Saint's membership of a race that excelled all others of the ancient world in the making of laws. Many points hitherto governed by custom are definitely fixed by legal enactment in St. Benedict's Rule. This, in consequence, tends to be supreme, whilst the personality of the abbot, himself bound on every side by its provisions, tends to recede into the background.

If we ask why the Benedictine observance, as fixed by the Benedictine Rule, became supreme all over Europe and ousted the Irish and other systems from the places where they had long been in force, the reasons seem to be chiefly three. In the first place, the comparative mildness of the Rule made a wide and very natural appeal. Benedictine life was hard enough, but it could not be compared in severity of discipline with the Irish, which preserved the harsher Egyptian tradition. In the second place, it was more complete, for its seventy-three chapters covered large fields entirely neglected by the earlier fathers. This advantage, however, should not be unduly stressed. Before St. Benedict's time the lack of legislation on such questions as the election of abbot caused no undue incon-

venience, and after St. Benedict's time similar matters were arranged for centuries in Ireland by custom, not by law. Difficulties, of course, arose, but the same or greater troubles are found in the Benedictine monasteries, legislation notwithstanding. In the third place, is the support given by the Holy See to the Benedictine Rule, from the reign of St. Gregory onwards. The importance of this has often been exaggerated, but it certainly was very considerable. If we picture to ourselves St. Columban and his monks settled in the Eternal City, in daily touch with a Pope like St. Gregory the Great, and perhaps entrusted with a missionary enterprise to some distant land like England, we realize somewhat what such support could mean. This is a question on which the last word has not yet been said.

In conclusion, two points of interest may be noted. The older monastic tradition, abandoned by St. Benedict, made its influence felt again in the later centuries, when the Benedictine Rule was supreme upon the Continent. The reforms connected with the names of St. Benedict of Aniane and the monks of Cluny are very largely a return to the Irish system, though the combination of learning with austerity as a normal feature of the reformed rule is absent. Secondly, the Irish system was sufficiently strong in organization to survive at home for almost seven centuries. When at last it collapsed, and an influx of new religious life had to be sought from abroad, it was not the Benedictine Rule, but the more austere Rule of the Cistercians that appealed to the Irish churchmen. Thus the fundamental attachment of Irishmen to their old system continued.

John Ryan

LITERARY PRIZES

BY VIOLET CONOLLY

THE hardships of men of letters are a commonplace of history. Goldsmith in his brown blanket, Dumas racking his brains for the morrow's feuilleton, Villon and Chatterton are typical figures.

Nevertheless, writers and artists have always exercised a curious claim on society. Until recent years the pension was the classic means of relief adopted in most countries. Though often belated and niggardly, and won by servility or worse means, the pension was really regarded in the end as the writer's prerogative. Cowper's case might be paralleled by many others. When he was known to be in straitened circumstances at Olney, indignant appeals were immediately addressed to influential people. The result was a very comfortable pension for Cowper, though his charming verses can scarcely be described as works of genius.

There are many economic and social aspects of the writer's claims on the community which might be discussed, but I shall confine myself here to a brief survey of the various ways in which different countries actually encourage literature and writers of talent.

* * *

Since the beginning of this century there has been a steady tendency to substitute literary prizes for literary pensions. Though much more sporadic and short-lived than pensions, the former are daily increasing in number and value. Their vogue is now so great that it is impossible to keep track of the new foundations in France or America, and French critics are even dubious of their ultimate value. There is an unlimited range of prizes, from those offered for novels and stories in the African dialects to that established by the Governor of Sing-Sing Prison—to discover his convicts' literary gifts.

Sometimes open to international competition, sometimes restricted to one nationality; founded alternatively by governments, academies and learned bodies, literary societies, publishers, newspapers, magazines, and benevolent patrons of literature; encouraging the whole literary gamut—"tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical, comical, historical, pastoral, scene individable or poem unlimited"—in annual or occasional competitions, literary prizes present a most elusive and heterogeneous subject for consideration.

In the new countries set up after the war—especially in Poland and Czechoslovakia—considerable enthusiasm and ingenuity have been shown in fostering the respective national literatures. Money awards are common; but those guaranteeing the publication of the chosen works are also frequent and extremely popular with young writers. Another form of prize which is rapidly gaining ground is the bi-national prize to promote closer literary relations between a particular group of countries. Such, for example, are the *Northcliffe Prize* for the best French novel; the reciprocal *Femina-Vie-Heureuse Prize* for an English work selected by a special French Committee; the *Brentano Prize* for the French novel which, in translation, will best represent French art and ideas to American readers; and the *Vikings Prize* (established as a protest against the award of the *Prix Goncourt* to "Jérome, 60′ de latitude") for a work in French most characteristic of the Scandinavian spirit.

* * *

France, with her venerable literary tradition, her old academies and universal appreciation of letters, offers a most fertile soil for the literary prize mania of the day. There has been such an efflorescence of new endowments in recent years that many serious critics urge the abolition of half of them. Incompetent juries, they declare, create a number of pretentious lauréats who only lower literary

standards by their subsequent trifling productions. The press is also very sceptical about many of these prizes, which are often announced with a gibe: "Encore un autre?" "Faut-il tuer les prix littéraires?"

It is characteristic of the age that the French Academy, which originally refused point-blank to discuss contemporary literature, now disposes of about 100,000,000 francs in literary prizes. Neither Richelieu's eloquence nor Napoleon's threats succeeded in breaking down its resistance, till early in the nineteenth century it was persuaded by Baron de Montyon's bequest of 18,000 francs (the nucleus of the above-mentioned fund) to assume the rôle of literary adjudicator. In spite of its rich endowment, the majority of the Academy's prizes have little value—ranging only from 200 to 2,000 francs. The recently established *Prix Brieux* of 30,000 francs is an exception. More consternation than satisfaction was expressed when it was first announced, as it was feared that the other prizes would suffer in comparison! The innumerable bequests left to the Academy have never been pooled, though inflation has played havoc with the original funds. This has resulted in a host of petty prizes, jealously perpetuating the memory of their respective donors to nobody's real advantage.

There are three categories of prizes:—

(1) Those given for a manuscript on a set subject. This is the smallest class and the only one in which manuscripts are accepted.

(2) Those for printed works belonging to certain clearly defined literary forms.

(3) Those awarded by the Academy to works of its own choice and which are not, as in the case of other categories, submitted by the authors.

Other literary bodies making annual awards are the *Goncourt Academy*, the "*Gens de Lettres*" *Society*, the *Artistic, Literary and Dramatic Association*, the *Renaissance* and *Minerva Clubs*. The prize funds of the "Gens de

Lettres " Society are growing every year. This body is a kind of literary trade-union and arranges copyright and translation questions, in the interests of its members. Among the forty or fifty prizes annually awarded by it, the most important are the *Grand Prix de la Société des Gens de Lettres* (10,000 francs); the *Prix Lucien Grauz*, for regionalist literature (5,000 francs); and the *Prix Corrand* (3,000 francs) for the most promising works of a young author.

It would be simply tedious to enumerate all the prizes, of a few thousand francs each, offered in France for " the best first novel," " the most interesting unpublished prose work," the best novel, poem or play, published during the last fourteen months, etc., etc., such as the *Prix Minerva* (16,000 francs); the *Prix des Lettres Francaises* (10,000 francs); the *Prix de la Renaissance* (5,000 francs). The *Prix Falguière* (50,000 francs), established by the publisher of this name for the best novel by a young writer appearing within the last three years, stands out prominently among a welter of insignificant prizes. There was quite a flutter in Academic circles when the relatively high amount was announced, though it is only £400.

The novel is the spoiled favourite of the day. Every form, high-brow and low-brow, is encouraged by a prize of some kind. There is the *Prix Jem* for the best novel relating directly or indirectly to sport; the *Jules Vernes Prix* for a novel " fostering an interest in genuine scientific adventure," adjudicated by a distinguished jury, including M. René Doumic, Secretary of the French Academy; the humorous novel prize; the 5,000 francs prize for " *the best novel by a woman extolling the attractions of country life* . . . . . " Le Français aime rouspetter ! " and this favouritism has not passed unnoticed. The dramatists have protested strongly against what they described as an unjustifiable neglect of their profession.

The annual prize of 10,000 francs offered by *L'Europe Nouvelle* for a work on contemporary history or politics

and that of 15,000 francs recently established by *La Revue Universelle* for the best work on history, criticism or philosophy, may be regarded as two important efforts to counterbalance the prevailing vogue for fiction.

Hard on the heels of the academies, literary societies, social luminaries and nouveaux riches setting up literary prizes, come two new forces: the local development associations (syndicats d'initiative) and certain industrial concerns. The "Grand Prix littéraire des Amis de Lyon" of 25,000 francs, awarded triennially for the work on Lyons best calculated to attract people to visit the town and spread its praises, is typical of the action of these local bodies. It is expressly stated in the prize regulations that a Guide is not wanted, but a work of a general nature in which Lyons occupies the foremost place. It would be interesting to see what would be produced if similar competitions were organised in Ireland. Nobody wants to have the country overrun with tourists, but we need a far greater number than now come to us, and the better the publicity, the better the type of tourist who will come. At all events there is plenty of room for improvement and extension in the methods of advertising Ireland abroad.

Poetry is a good second favourite in the literary prize arena. The numerous awards may satisfy for a brief moment the vanity of the selected poets, but would not keep the wolf from the door very long. The prizes awarded by the French Academy and the "Gens de Lettres" Society average at most 1,000 francs (£8). Other prizes held in high esteem are the *Sully Prud'dhomme Prize* of 8,000 francs, open to a poet over thirty years of age who has not the means of publishing his own work; the *Prix Lessere* of 10,000 francs partially adjudicated by the Ministry of Public Instruction; the *Grand Prix* of the Floral Games Academy in Toulouse—the doyen of literary bodies in Europe.

Since the literary prize has been used for so

many anomalous objects, including advertising (*e.g.*, the *Prix des Vignes*, founded in 1926 by the princes of the French wine trade; the *Prix Beauharnais* of 30,000 francs, for a pamphlet dealing artistically with some commercial product; the *Luxury Trade Prize*), another flourishing series of prizes for works on the French colonies and the French colonial system will cause no surprise. The colonies complete and enlarge the Frenchman's individuality. His ideas are penetrated and coloured by his experience in a way quite foreign to the average British colonial. Thus hand in hand with French colonial propaganda a literature has developed which is merely the expression of a simple need. The Englishman, on the contrary, after years in the colonies demands nothing more from literature than before he left Kensington.

The " Prix des Français d'Asie " of 25,000 francs was founded by the General Administrator of Indo-China for an original work dealing with the Far East and French Asia in particular, *so as to throw a favourable light on French colonisation in the Far East and Asia* (forward Mr. Kipling à la française !). Other prizes of this kind are the *Grand Prix de l'Algérie* of 125,000 francs for prose or verse; the biennial *Prix littéraire du Maroc* of 3,000 francs for the best work on a North African subject; the North African Committee Prize of 8,000 francs for the book which shall best promote its propaganda and ideals in the country, and the *Colonial Prize*. It is interesting, in this respect, to note that the " Grand Prix de Langue française " of the French Academy was awarded in 1929 to the " Société des Missions " at Lyons, for a work dealing with *the natives' gratitude for being able to participate in French civilisation.*

Even the hoary old naval Academy down in Brest has not escaped the popular fever. After decades of retirement, it has come forward with the announcement of a prize for the best work in prose or verse inspired by the sea.

The younger generation of writers greatly appreciate

the *National Travelling Scholarship* (9,000 francs) awarded annually since 1908, to a writer under forty-five, by a Committee consisting of representatives of the French Academy, the Goncourt Academy, the Society " Gens de Lettres," the Senate, Chamber and Ministry of Public Instruction. The winner is bound to present a report on his travels to the Ministry within a year after the award. This scholarship is widely advertised all over France. Although it is of relatively small value, it does provide some means for young provincial writers to get a glimpse of the world outside their own country.

The ramifications of this movement throughout the French provinces present some further points of interest. Though there is a strong concentration of literary forces in Paris, there are also academies and traditional literary institutions in remoter parts of the country. The peculiar function of these bodies is to encourage regional literature and support the independent literary traditions of the different provinces. Literary standards and an interest in letters (however pedantic or abstract) are, moreover, kept alive by the mere existence of these little groups far from the capital.

In the Midi there are the *Académie Méditerranéenne*; the *Consistoire Félibrige*, established to encourage the use of Provençal as a literary language in the spirit of Mistral; the *Académie des Dix de Province* in Bordeaux; and the Floral Games Academy at Toulouse. The Centre has the Floral Games Academy at Nevers. These Floral Games at Toulouse and Nevers might be compared to our Feiseanna in Dublin or Sligo with the emphasis on the literary rather than the musical side. Last year the *Consistoire Félibrige*, observing that the *langue d'oc* was richer in verse than in prose, established the *Prix Mistral* for a novel and two other prizes for a collection of stories and a work on local history written in Provençal. This intervention is typical of the work of the regional literary bodies in France.

In spite of all these awards, competitions, prizes . . . . writing is far from being a lucrative profession in France. The blatant intrigues of editors, literary patrons, and members of selection boards have thoroughly discredited the greater number of these prizes. Wirepulling is a *sine qua non* of success ; literary talent a less essential factor. The price of books is low, and there are many sharks among publishers. Few writers, except those with an international circulation in translation like Maurois or Paul Morand, can make a decent living by writing.

* * *

No other country in Europe can compare with France for the versatility and number of her literary prizes.

Italy is distinctly apathetic in this respect. The few prizes offered by Bemporad, the *Fiera Litteraria* of Milan and some Roman publishing houses are of quite recent date and trival. More interesting are the travelling scholarships organised by the *Raduno Society*, for writers. The winners must visit the Italian over-seas colonies, study conditions of life there, and eventually resume their impressions in a book. (It is strange that the Irish in America or Australia have not yet produced their chronicler).

When we come to Germany we find that the large cities like Berlin, Hamburg and Munich make a feature of literary prizes and in certain cases offer the possibility of a voyage abroad to one or more writers. The *Kleist* and *Gerhart Hauptmann* Endowments, the *Vereine* and some flourishing publishing firms award prizes to writers and sometimes undertake the publication—especially of scientific works. About 50,000 marks are annually distributed in this way.

The monetary value of the prizes available in Austria is lower than in Germany, but the position is otherwise very similar in both countries.

There has been a vigorous development of Polish literature during the last decade. The nation is actively

interested in fostering this movement, and great energy has been shown in creating literary prizes, medals, etc., to stimulate creative work. All the large Polish cities have endowed prizes: Warsaw, 15,000 zlotys; Lodz, 10,000; Posen, 7,000; Lemberg, 7,000; Vilna, 6,000; Cracow, 5,000. In addition to the Polish prize, Vilna has gracefully founded a biennial prize in favour of her minorities' languages: Yiddish, Lithuanian or Ruthenian. The *Polish Pen Club* has inaugurated an original prize for the best translation of a Polish work into a foreign language. The Poles are anxious that their literature should be appreciated abroad, and this is an admirable device for the purpose.

In Belgium both the Government and the Academy are responsible for many practical measures in favour of writers. Several travelling scholarships are available annually as well as prizes for works in French, Flemish and Walloon. A semi-official "Literary Fund" was established in 1926 to help young and relieve aged writers in distress; to facilitate the publication and representation of new works, etc.

Czechoslovakia is unique in offering thirty prizes for the most beautiful books produced in the country during each year. These awards are made by the "Czech Society of Bibliophiles"; and the books, after exhibition in the National Museum, are sent on tour throughout the country. The Czech Academy of Arts has created a series of annual prizes for different types of literature which have a high standing.

There is still little public encouragement for writers in Spain. A *National Literary Prize* of 6,000 pesetas exists, and several others of small consequence are offered by the press. A regional literary prize was established a few years ago in Catalonia, which was first won by a novelist.

To Sweden belongs the unique glory of the Nobel Prize, in comparison with which all others lose their

lustre. It is a far cry from this star to an interesting experiment started recently by an enterprising group of Norwegian, Swedish and Danish publishers. They offer a joint prize for competition among the novelists of their respective countries, and the entries are judged on an equal basis by an expert mixed committee.

Literary prizes in the Balkans, especially in Bulgaria, tend to be somewhat ludicrous. Indeed last year the *Union of Bulgarian Writers* went so far, in expressing its indignation at the official awards, as to expel any of its members who had sat on the state-prize juries.

Such in brief is the situation in Europe, showing on the whole a tendency to encourage writers either by monetary prizes or by the publication of their works.

* * *

While Irish writers may at most have a theoretical interest in literary prizes in Europe (where international prizes are extremely rare), they might study the literary prize horizon in America to their personal advantage. America annually offers thousands of dollars in prizes for novels, short stories, children's books, verse, biography, works of higher criticism, etc., without any limitation of nationality save that the writer's language must be English. Two well-known Irish writers, Ernest Boyd and Padraic Colum, are found on many of the literary juries, and they would probably not be adverse to rewarding an Irishman's work.

Many of the most valuable opportunities crop up casually; so it is extremely difficult to keep track of them. The best way of getting timely intimation of the various opportunities is to subscribe to a good press-cutting agency or to watch the columns of periodicals like *The Writer*, *The Writer's Digest* or *The Writer's Monthly*. The following are a few of the most interesting prizes open to non-American writers in 1929-30 :—

$10,000 for a novel, offered by Harpers.

$10,000 for a novel, offered by Longmans.

"This contest is designed to encourage young authors and those who have not yet attracted general attention." Ernest Boyd was on the jury.

$2,000 for a child's book, offered by Longmans.

"Any unpublished original story in English suitable for boys or girls from twelve to sixteen may be submitted, with no limitation on plot, title or style." Padraic Colum was on the jury of this competition, closed September 1, 1930.

$5,000 in three prizes of $2,500, $1,500 and $1,000 offered by the *Pictorial Review* for short stories. The *True Story Magazine* offers $5,000 each month for true stories: "All stories must be written in the first person, based on facts that happened either in the lives of the writers of these stories or to people of their acquaintance."

Poetry and plays are also generously rewarded. In the case of all prizes offered by publishers, in addition to the monetary award, it is usual to guarantee 10 per cent. royalties on the sales and to undertake the publication and publicity expenses of the winning book.

New possibilities are constantly occuring for the writer who will produce material for the cinema, the talkies or broadcasting. A little time ago the American *Legion Monthly* offered $25,000 for a novel suitable for adaption to the cinema and portraying the background of the war.

Literary prizes in England are much more limited in number and value. Publishers offer good prizes for novels from time to time, and short story writing is often well rewarded by various magazines. The most interesting literary prizes, however, are confined to the universities. There are a fair number of bequests and endowments for literary prizes, particulars of which may be found in the *Writers' and Artists' Year Book*. One of the most coveted distinctions is the Hawthornden Prize (£100) for the best bit of imaginative work in prose or verse published during the preceding year. (Won in 1927 by Sean O'Casey).

* * *

There is a singular lack of public encouragement for writers in Ireland. The reading public is comparatively small, and the highly organised book trade across the Channel literally cuts the ground from under our feet. These are permanent factors which have driven so many Anglo-Irish writers into exile and will not change for the asking.

Other aspects of this question must arise in an Irish-speaking Ireland. As we are masters of this situation, the time is opportune to consider the measures adopted in other countries to encourage literature and to shape our course, not in imitation, but in accordance with our own needs. These are fundamental responsibilities involved in the language revival.

So long as the official and unofficial measures to revive Irish stop short at the schools and universities and do not envisage the peculiar handicaps of this generation of writers, Irish literature must remain stunted and shallow —a wholly inadequate intellectual food for the nation. The grants made by Dáil Eireann to Professor Thurneysen for the publication of his work on the Irish sagas, to the *Gúm*, and for the establishment of an Irish Folklore Institute, are healthy precedents which should be followed up by other initiatives, public and private. Irish has been isolated for centuries from the great currents of intellectual and aesthetic development. If the gaps are not repaired artificially, the language will never be able to satisfy the many-sided requirements of the nation. We have plenty of text-books, but few classics.

VIOLET CONOLLY

CATHOLIC MEDICAL MISSIONS

BY D. DONNELLY, S.J., M.SC.

PART II[1]

IN the June issue of *Studies* the present writer was privileged to communicate some impressions of a very valuable pioneer effort in the field of Catholic medical missionary endeavour, the *Missionsärztliches Institut* in Würzburg. He has been asked to discuss in the present paper some of the more recent developments in this field in other countries.

The past ten, indeed the past five, years have witnessed a most remarkable increase of Catholic medical missionary work in almost every country of the civilized world. In a movement of such recent history and of such rapid growth it is not easy to keep quite up to date; and if one ventures to single out certain prominent works or workers round which to group one's remarks, it is difficult to avoid the injustice of silence regarding other less widely-known but not less devoted apostles. Few, however, will feel aggrieved at our choosing for first mention Dr. Anna Dengel and her splendid work in Washington, U.S.A., for Dr. Dengel's name is coupled with that of Dr. Becker of Würzburg as that of an outstanding pioneer.

The story of Dr. Dengel really begins, however, almost a quarter of a century ago, and is intimately linked with that of a still older worker in this field; and not merely historical sequence, but common justice demands that we pay a tribute here to the heroic lady who first introduced Catholic medical relief to the women-world of India.

It is now almost twenty-five years since Dr. Agnes McLaren, one of the first lady doctors of Scotland, set

[1] For Part I see June issue.

out upon the long journey to India. She was then *seventy-two* years of age ; but she had made up her mind that she would not die without leaving behind her as a legacy for the future at least a tiny hospital for Indian women. A book recently published, *Mother India*, has startled public attention to a realization of the miseries of which India is still the home ; and matters were certainly no better twenty-five years ago. The Mill Hill missionaries encouraged Dr. McLaren to found the Catholic hospital, which she was planning to erect, in their diocese in the Punjab. Accordingly, on December 8, 1909, St. Catherine's Hospital for Indian women and children was opened in Rawal Pindi, and has done wonderful work against crippling difficulties during the twenty years of its existence.

Dr. Anna Dengel has a special claim upon the interest of Irish readers, because her Alma Mater is an Irish University, and it was in Ireland, where she lived for six years, that she acquired her perfect knowledge of English. She was born in Hall, near Innsbruck, in the Austrian Tyrol, and after finishing her medical studies at University College, Cork, was for three or four years doctor-in-charge of this hospital in Rawal Pindi.

Dr. Dengel, however, soon began to discover within herself ideals and enthusiasms to which the little hospital in Rawal Pindi could never afford full scope ; and so, in 1924, she returned to Europe and made in Innsbruck the retreat which changed decisively the course of her future life. She had come home from India faced with an insistent question : whether to continue her medical missionary work in the world, or to become a nun in an active order or congregation. In this retreat she saw clearly, however, that her vocation was not to enter a convent, but to devote her life to the cause of medical mission work in the world. Her idealism of purpose is expressed, more characteristically, perhaps, than an outsider could hope to expound it, in a little article by her friend and fellow-doctor, Margaret Lamont, M.D. (Lond.)—who, by the

way, is a convert—in the Bombay *Examiner* for December 12, 1925 :—

Whilst one is young and strong, like St. Peter, one does not realize that the days will come when another must gird one, even if one has learnt by heart the wise man's " Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not." Even in youth, however, it is bad to come back after a morning of out-patients, with an operation or two, and find a meal murdered by the Indian cook ; or get back in the hours of dawn after a night of struggle for the life of mother and babe (and the happiness of a whole household) to find no servants, no bath, no anything, and yet be due in hospital at 7 or 8. A young man is often driven by such things into matrimony (or worse). Your doctor girl is a good girl—she has little time to frivol ; and in India little strength except for duty. Such a girl makes a good wife, but needs a good man : her standard is too high for most. But if she does not marry, what companions is she to have for a most strenuous, trying life ? Amongst Protestants of fervour she can enter a missionary society —amongst Catholics she can indeed enter a Religious Society, but owing to various rules she is not allowed to exercise her profession to the top of her bent if she does so enter. Much of it she may exercise, but some is forbidden, or allowed only with one's right hand tied behind one's back, so to speak. Now a few doctors will read this who will understand (and some sympathetic Fathers and Nuns also), when I say : *If you are the real born doctor*, you simply *cannot* tie yourself down to a state of life where you have to mutilate your powers. I can imagine a highly musical person renouncing music for Christ, and entering some Order that has neither musical instruments nor real singing ; but music is not so desperately necessary as medicine, and I own I have a Benedictine and a Scotch feeling that I would rather use God's gifts to me for God than abandon one of the best—the power to heal—even for God. . . . When, as in the Zenana missions, she (the missionary woman doctor) *works* entirely *for* her own sex, she *lives* entirely *with* her own sex. I have often heard the Zenana hospitals and Girls' Schools called by seculars and Mohammedans alike " the Protestant convents." It is something like this the new Society aims at. It avoids vows, so as to leave its members free to practise reputable medicine in all its branches, *i.e.*, physic, surgery and midwifery. But it seeks, as St. Francis for his Tertiaries, that its members should live " in the spirit of the Evangelical Counsels."

The "new Society" referred to is Dr. Dengel's "Society of Catholic Medical Missionaries" (Address: Catholic Medical Mission House, Brookland, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.), founded in September, 1925, with the approval of His Grace Archbishop Curley of Baltimore. After her retreat in Innsbruck in 1924, Dr. Dengel travelled to London, whence she and Miss Pauline Willis, for very many years Honorary Secretary of the home Committee for the carrying on of the work in Rawal Pindi (Address: 24 Holland St., London W.8), sailed for America. Here Dr. Dengel started on an extensive tour of lectures. She found considerable public support, and was enabled in a few months' time to start in a very humble way her new and daring venture of a Society for Catholic lady doctors and nurses (and also, of course, for non-medical helpers), who wished to devote their lives to medical work in the mission fields.

Dr. Dengel, with the true instinct of the German mind for the power of publicity, has published since the autumn of 1927 an illustrated monthly periodical, *The Medical Missionary*. One is tempted to quote, and quote, and quote again from these unassuming records of the plucky struggles of the infant Society; to tell the story of the building of the Hospital of the Holy Family in Rawal Pindi, the first post taken over by the Society in the mission fields; to follow the anxieties of the purchase and adaptation of the Society's present mother-house last year. But no quotation could do justice to the reality; and so we content ourselves with a few lines from two delightfully human documents, the letters sent home in May, 1928, by Dr. Joanna Lyons and Sister M. Laetitia, the Society's pioneers in the Hospital of the Holy Family. The letters were written about three months after the opening of the Hospital, and are interesting, less because of the matter they contain, than because of the spirit they reveal:—

We have great faith in the future of this place. We are

extremely short-handed, and we need more money, and we have a number of minor troubles, like clouds of flies, and the heat, and the language, and the curious notions and habits of the people; but, all in all, things are not going badly. We can give the essentials of medical care, even if we cannot have nice, white rows of beds to show off. People who stay any length of time at all go away in a very friendly mood, and in this way we shall, please God, prepare the way for the reception of Catholic teaching when the time is ripe to give it formally. And when will this be? In God's good time, perhaps in the next generation, or the second next. Meanwhile, we now and then meet with a child on the point of leaving this world for a better, and we hand him his passport to Heaven.

And "the Nurses' version":—

I hope that all our members at home are as fond of animals as . . . . *I used to be!* Night duty here is hair raising! I have never seen such spiders in my life!—and by the dozen! There is one walking towards me at present; not only do they crawl, but some actually hop a foot or more. There are lizards on the walls, and the other night I called Sr. Agnes Marie to kill a scorpion. There are regular clouds of mosquitoes. Crickets abound. Centipedes are of the millionpede variety here. One night a nice little frog sat on the table. Bats used to fly around at will and bump into everything; they sounded like guns in the silence of the night, but since we have screens, they do not come inside any more. Moths flutter hither and thither, and heaps of other varieties of insects that none of us know the names of.

The Society numbers at present about twenty members (I beg Dr. Dengel's pardon, if my figures are some months old), of whom one little group is at work in Rawal Pindi, and another in a new post in Dacca, Bengal; the others are still in training at home. One of the Rawalpindi pioneers, Sister Agnes Marie, has been recalled to the mother-house at Washington to act as Directress of Candidates; another, Sister M. Laetitia—presumably because of the courage which tries to hide between the lines of her letter quoted above—was sent pioneering again to the new venture in Dacca.[1] Dr. Dengel herself is at

[1] *Dacca Nun's Bravery.*—Out of the riots and disturbances of India, reports *Fides*, comes a story of the bravery of an American nun, Sister Laetitia, of the Catholic Medical Missionaries of Washington, D.C., working at Dacca. On May 24 there

present (Summer, 1930) in England, where she is engaged upon an extensive lecture tour. Her objects are two: to open a house in London as an English centre for the Society,[1] and to obtain fresh recruits. (Canon Mitchell of Leeds has already founded a Guild of Catholic nurses, with the intention of working hand in hand with Dr. Dengel's Society). Later, she is to return to Innsbruck, where an embryo Mission High School has recently been founded; it is hoped that she will take a large part in the development of its Medical department.

II.

And now for a quick glance at the progress of medical missionary work in other countries. Before we leave *England*, however, reference must be made to the Guild of SS. Luke, Cosmas and Damian, the association of English Catholic doctors which, under the zealous direction of the former Indian Army doctor, Lieut.-Col. P. W. O'Gorman, C.M.G., is taking a growing interest in medical welfare work on the missions. The Guild publishes a quarterly, *The Catholic Medical Guardian* (Address: 3 St. John's Road, Harrow-on-the-Hill, Middlesex); and in a recent article (Oct., 1928) Col. O'Gorman spoke very emphatically of the need of a special centre for medical missionary work in London. Further, efforts have been on foot for some years to found a religious congregation

occurred a bloody Hindu-Mohammedan clash. Sister Laetitia and Sister Helen, who are in charge of the maternity centre of Dacca, in spite of the rioting, spent Saturday night from six until eleven thirty o'clock watching at the bedside of a woman. As they passed through the streets at midnight, the glare of the burning houses and stores lit up the streets and made the air like a blast furnace. The Superintendent of Police told them to go home and stay at home. On Sunday morning after Mass, however, they began again to visit the sick. One woman with a new born babe was in the midst of the fire area, and the flames were creeping towards the house. The two sisters having tried in vain to get a taxi or carriage to take them to their home, Sister Laetitia went to the residence of Bishop Crowley and asked for His Lordship's car, but the chauffeur, being a Mohammedan, could not safely drive through the affected districts. Sister Laetitia therefore took the car herself and drove through the fire area, rescued the woman and brought her to a quiet place outside the city. The Medical Missionaries opened the Dacca Maternity Centre March 17 of this year, under the auspices of the Dacca Maternity and Child Welfare. (*Bombay Examiner*, July 26, 1930).

[1] Since the above was written (Summer, 1930), H.E. Cardinal Bourne presided at a meeting held in the Cathedral Hall, London, to hear an address from Dr. Dengel and to inaugurate the work of the Society of Catholic Medical Missionaries in England, where it is hoped soon to found a branch house.

with religious vows for lady doctors in *Scotland*; and a modest beginning has at length been made. The *Institutum Deiparae* in Glasgow, founded mainly through the unwearying zeal of Father T. Agius, S.J., is a seed that gives much promise for the future.[1]

Nor can we pass over in silence the "Alma Redemptoris Mater," an association for lady doctors in the missions, inaugurated by Dr. Margaret Lamont, Dr. Dengel's friend and fellow-idealist. The Association is composed of three classes of members: the outer circle, comprising doctors and friends devoted to the "Alma Redemptoris Mater"; lady doctors working in the missions for a certain period and in receipt of a salary; and those who devote their services for ever to the mission cause. One of the chief endeavours of the Association is to promote the training of native women as helpers in all branches of medical work. The Association has received the approbation and benediction of Pope Pius XI.

In *Switzerland* a course in missionary medicine has been established at the University of Freiburg. Moreover, since November 1926, a Catholic Association for Medical Missionary Welfare Work (Address: Dr. Kürner, Niedergösgen (Solothurn), Switzerland) has been established, and its numbers have grown to almost five hundred. The Association has devoted its attention up to the present to assisting the three Swiss missionary bodies, the Capuchins, the Benedictines, and the Mission House at Immensee, in their medical welfare work.

[1] "It was a great day in the history of the [Zambesi] Mission when there arrived from home the first batch of Medical Missionaries of the new Congregation of the Institutum Deiparæ, who have come to look after the temporal and spiritual needs of the poor Mashona, to reach his soul through his body, and incidentally to 'doctor' the poor Missionary himself if occasion offers.

"April 22, 1930 will figure as a *dies memorabilis* in the annals of Kutama's. Dr. Ruth Sandemann, I.D., Sister Dorothy James, I.D., Sister Mary Mallon, I.D., arrived in South Africa by the *Walmer Castle* on a very auspicious date, March 17th, the feast of one of the greatest apostles of the Church since apostolic days. On reaching Salisbury they were welcomed by Mgr. Brown, and immediately set to work to get their eye and hand in with the native, on the recommendation of the chief medical officer, Dr. Fleming, by daily attendance at the native hospital."

(*Zambesi Mission Record*, July 1930.)

In *Holland*, the Medical Mission Committee in Rotterdam (Address: Mathenesserdijk 177, Rotterdam) have published since 1927 a monthly periodical. The Committee's main work has been the collecting and despatching of instruments, medicines, etc., to various Catholic hospitals in the Dutch colonies, the arranging of medical courses for future missionaries, the giving of competent medical advice, and the examination of the physical capabilities of intending missionaries. The Committee does not yet possess an Institute of its own; but Würzburg has served as an ideal, and high hopes are cherished for the future. In addition, the University of Rotterdam has arranged courses in missionary medicine.

In *France* there are doubtless many little "Oeuvres" for medical missionary welfare work; the only one with which the writer is acquainted is the "Oeuvre de la Formation Médicale et Missionnaire" (Address: 1 rue du Général Foy, Paris), which in 1927 distributed medical equipment to the value of fifty thousand francs amongst ten different missions. Moreover, courses in medicine for missionaries are held regularly at the Institut Catholique in Paris and at the Université Catholique de Lille.

Belgium is remarkable for three very fine medical missionary ventures, all adorned with names reminiscent of Lewis Carroll! The association "A.M.M." (Aide Médicale aux Missions) was founded in 1925, and has already sent many doctors and nurses to various mission hospitals; in addition, much help of a material kind has been given. The "Aucam" (Association Universitaire Catholique d'Aide aux Missions), inaugurated at Louvain in 1925, aims among other purposes at "fostering colonial vocations amongst doctors, engineers, professors, etc., who will preach by their example and be auxiliaries of the apostolate in the mission centres." The "Aucam" publishes a periodical, *Les Carnets de l'Aucam*, ten times a year. Finally, in January 1926, the University of Louvain called into being the "Fomulac" (Fondation

Médicale de l'Université de Louvain au Congo). The object of the Fondation is "to contribute to medical welfare work amongst the natives." A splendid new clinic has been built (it is not yet completed, though in work already for some years) in Kisantu in the Apostolic Vicariate of Kwango, where infirmarians and midwives are trained, and a hospital course for European doctors is given. This hospital was visited about two years ago by the King and Queen of the Belgians. In 1928 thirteen young Belgian doctors, graduates of the University of Louvain, embarked for post-graduate study at this hospital in the Congo. In the University of Louvain itself, as at Würzburg, Parma, Lille, Paris and Georgetown (U.S.A.), medical courses are held periodically for future missionaries.

In *New York* the Catholic Medical Mission Board (Address: 8 and 10 West 17th Street, New York City) has been working by means of wireless talks, newspaper articles, leaflets, collections and popular lectures to awaken public interest in Catholic medical missionary work; and an appeal for instruments, medicines, etc., addressed to the 6,807 Catholic hospitals in the United States led to very substantial supplies being dispatched to many hospitals in the mission fields. Father Garesché, S.J., the General Director, describes their work as follows:—

> The hospitals send in quantities of bandages, medicines, instruments which have been replaced by others, but which are still useful. Groups of women and children make bandages. Men, women and children collect money and medicines. Operation tables and other hospital equipment are donated, good still for years on the Missions, but which have been replaced in the hospital by newer equipment. Doctors send in their sample medicines and their disused equipment. The families of deceased doctors contribute their still useful instruments and medical books to continue in distant lands the work of healing. Besides all these, a great many supplies must be purchased by the Board because they are not sent in in sufficient quantities to meet the demand. These supplies are obtained at the lowest possible prices from the manufacturers or dealers. . . . .
>
> . . . . You can form some idea of the work already done from

the fact that in three months we have sent out 200,000 yards of bandages to the Missions. Two hundred thousand yards are a hundred miles, so that a hundred miles of these little strips of cloth, rolled and pinned for Mission use, went out in ninety days. These bandages are skilfully used to pack and protect the boxes and bottles of medicines, and the total quantity of medicine and bandages which was sent out in that brief period was 8,000 pounds —four tons. These supplies went to India, China, Africa, Porto Rico, the Southern U.S.—everywhere throughout the world. . . . .

. . . . During the current year of 1929 the headquarters will have sent out about two hundred and fifty boxes to over a hundred missions, and these boxes contain hundreds of thousands of tablets of aspirin, quinine, salol, bichloride of mercury, pills of various kinds and instruments and equipment of great use. Besides, hundreds of thousands of yards of bandages and dressing are sent—one year's gifts in this line measuring about half a million yards or hundreds of miles.

This brief account of a comparatively new and rapidly growing movement in the Catholic Church makes, clearly, no pretence at being complete. Owing to reasons of space, we have confined our attention entirely to the medical missionary activities of the home countries; except for one short extract, nothing whatever has been quoted from the records of the mission hospitals themselves—though this aspect of the new movement is beyond measure interesting and inspiring. But even these records, numerous though they are, are sadly incomplete. Heroic and self-sacrificing work is being done by Irish doctors and nurses in many a mission hospital of which no mention has ever appeared in any Catholic magazine. In Africa, particularly perhaps in Nigeria, sons and daughters of Irish parents are proving in daily devoted service that the spirit of the apostle and the missionary still burns within their breasts. When shall we possess a Medical Mission Institute in Dublin to co-ordinate and assist all this fine personal endeavour, so much of which is now frustrated by want of organisation and support? May it be soon.

D. Donnelly

CHRONICLE

Librarians at Cambridge

22–27 *September* 1930

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

THE Annual Conference of the Library Association is perhaps a matter of only passing interest to the general public, even in England. Yet its deliberations are of greater concern to the public than most people quite realize. And at this year's Conference certain matters were discussed and certain things were said which are, I think, of general interest to the Irish, as well as to the English, public.

It was held at Cambridge from the 22nd to the 27th of September. There were those who complained of the venue. The Cambridge municipal buildings, it seems, were inadequate to accommodate the host of delegates who attended. But these and other drawbacks were trifling in comparison with the advantages; for Cambridge is, in the first place, exceptionally rich in libraries and in bookshops and possesses a great publishing concern, the Cambridge University Press. For bookshops it has Bowes and Bowes, three and a half centuries old, yet very up-to-date; and there are Galloway and Porter, Deighton Bell, and Heffer—famous names in the book world. Of libraries there is a bewildering abundance and variety, from the well-equipped but quite ordinary town library to the great University Library, with its million and a half of books. Most of the sixteen or so colleges that go to make the University possess separate, and in some cases very valuable, libraries of their own. And there are various special collections—the Pepys Library in Magdalene, the Squire Library, the Stuart House Collection, the Acton Historical Collection, the Bradshaw Collection of books on Ireland, and many others. It is a sort of bookman's paradise. And to enhance the attraction there had been organized in the Corn Exchange an exhibition of books and library equipment of all kinds.

It was surely an advantage, too, that the Conference should have been held in a place so beautiful and so full of manifold interest—historical, literary, architectural, and scientific. Unfortunately four out of the six days were so filled with meetings and

various functions that very little time remained in which to look around.

The Conference opened with the usual ceremonies—reception at the Guildhall, speeches by the Mayor, by the Master of Christ's College, by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, reply by the President-elect of the Library Association, greetings, handshakings, and a general buzz of conversation. It is interesting to note that the outgoing President of the Association was a Scottish Laird, Lord Balneil, son of the Earl of Balcarres. The new President is Mr. Stanley Jast, Chief Librarian in Manchester. The latter was duly installed on the following day.

I do not propose to relate in detail the doings and sayings of the Conference. Its proceedings did not differ notably from those of other conferences. There was the Garden Party in the gardens of Christ's College (a charming setting certainly), the Conference Dinner with the usual speeches, sectional gatherings, committee meetings, excursions, visits to libraries, and the rest. Naturally the present writer, like the other Irish visitors, was interested in the Conference chiefly because of what might be learned there for use at home. And in calling attention to certain features of its work, it is from that standpoint that I am viewing them.

The dominant impression made upon the writer was the remarkable progress achieved by the library movement in England and the prosperous condition of the library world to-day. The note was struck at the outset by the new President in his address. Looking back to his early days, nothing impressed him more than the astonishing change that had come over libraries in England and the library movement generally. He regretted that the story of this development was so little known to the public. The Library Association in particular has been passing through a period of unprecedented progress. The membership has grown from 103 in 1877 to 897 in 1928 and to 2,884 to-day : it is still adding rapidly to its numbers. This year's Conference, which was attended by some 1,030 delegates, was the largest that has yet been held. Within a very few years the whole of England, Scotland, and Wales has been covered with a network of County Rural Library Services. In March, 1929, there were ninety-eight County Library schemes, with two and a half million volumes. The circulation figure for 1928-9 was over 18,000,000 volumes.

Even in the present depressed state of British trade and industry abundant financial resources for library purposes seem to be available. It is true that a certain proportion of this money

comes from the Carnegie Trust, which is liberally disbursing subsidies. Still, county and city rates, adequate on the whole, are being struck almost everywhere in England. Again, where famous libraries are in question, no expense is spared. As examples of this latter point, we may take the three libraries whose building plans were explained at one of the meetings of the Conference.

First there is the proposed new University Library in Cambridge itself. The Library at present possesses, as has been said, nearly a million and a half of books, together with upwards of 10,000 MSS., many of them exceedingly precious. It is growing at the rate of a quarter of a mile of shelving per annum and, apparently, further extension of the present buildings is impossible. Accordingly it has been decided to build a new library on an entirely different site. For this purpose a sum of £500,000 is already available. The mere transport of such a number of books will be a huge task. Among the incidental expenses will be the duplication of the catalogue, which is estimated to cost between £12,000 and £15,000. Let it be noted in passing that among the precious MSS. it possesses are the Codex Bezae, which ranks fifth among the most ancient MSS. of the original Greek New Testament, and the Book of Deer, a sixth or seventh century MS. of the Gospels, with the charter of the monastery written in the margins in ancient Gaelic.

Another proposed building is the new municipal library in Manchester, which bids fair to be one of the wonders of the library world. It is to provide accommodation for upwards of a million volumes, and will embody the most modern improvements in library planning and equipment. In the Reading Room, which will be circular measuring 127 feet in diameter and 58 feet in height, there will be seating accommodation for 250 readers and shelf-accommodation for 13,500 works of reference. The building will have four floors, and will include, besides the general Reading Room and the main store of books, commercial and technical libraries, a music library with 50,000 folios, a library of books for the blind, a newspaper room with 7,500 volumes, a foreign library with 18,000 volumes, and a lecture theatre. Manchester already possesses in the John Rylands Library one of the most valuable collections in England. It would seem that this one-time city of cotton-spinners has some appreciation of books and literature.

Thirdly, the British Museum Library itself is launching into a reconstruction scheme. This great library, which possesses five million volumes, grows yearly to the extent of a mile of shelving. To this enormous growth the present buildings of the library are becoming inadequate. But any upsetting of a library so vast and

in such constant use is a very difficult problem. It can only be solved very slowly and piecemeal. Accordingly the work will be spread over a period of fifteen years, but when completed it is hoped that accommodation will have been provided and sufficient for a hundred years to come.

To be convinced of the great activity which prevails in library circles in England one has but to glance at any of the many excellent library periodicals which appear monthly or quarterly. New and handsome branch libraries are being built in many of the cities, existing libraries are expanding, and the figures of stocks and circulation are steadily mounting. Stocks of 60-70,000 volumes, apart from branches, are common in towns such as Blackburn, Coventry, Rochdale, Stockport, which have populations somewhat larger than that of Cork. Coventry (population 173,000) has 34,000 volumes in its four branches, as well as 66,000 in its Central Library. In addition it possesses a special Teachers' Library and a Commercial and Technical Library.

It is little wonder that at the Conference a tone of pleasant optimism prevailed. The wail or the groan of pessimists and airers of grievances was notably absent. It was felt that the library is coming into its own, and, despite certain opposing tendencies of modern society, has in the future a great rôle to play. Mass production and mass thinking, standardization, and the syndicated press are threatening to efface differences of culture and to produce a commonplace and featureless uniformity. Mr. Jast sees in the great libraries a means of reaction and resistance, a source of fresh and life-giving impulses. If at the Renaissance the discovery of a few manuscripts and the printing of a few books could so marvellously transform mediaeval Europe, why should not the libraries, in which there lies stored up all the culture, all the great ideas and ideals of the past, constitute permanent possibilities of similar revivals ?

The discussions at the sectional meetings were for the most part of a technical nature, of immediate interest to librarians only—Centralization versus Departmentalization, Aids to Readers, the Problem of the Small Municipal Library, the County Library and Rural Problems, the Preservation of Archives, Union Catalogues, and so forth. But there was was one which, I venture to think, might well be of interest to all of us—that on Hospital Libraries. The subject is a big one and deserves a fuller exposition and discussion than can be accorded to it here. I may at least call attention to what has been accomplished in this respect in England and elsewhere.

The origin of the movement was the War. One of the best and most appreciated forms of welfare work during those terrible years was the supply of books to the troops, both in the fighting line and at the base, especially in the hospitals. It was carried on equally by Germans, French, Americans, and English. I may mention in passing that I have statistics showing the many millions of books sent to the troops by Catholic organizations in these four countries. The work for the British Army was undertaken by the British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John, and became known as the Red Cross War Library. An end came to the war, but not to the demand for books. The work was transferred to ex-servicemen's hospitals and then extended to civilians. It became the Hospital Library. Last year 245,306 books, magazines, and papers were supplied to 2,169 hospitals and sanatoria. It is very interesting to note that most of the work is voluntary. The public has been donating to the Library over 200,000 volumes a year in response to appeals. Hospitals all over England can write for any special work a patient might want. At the sectional meeting at Cambridge dealing with this work papers were read by Miss E. Ostenfeld, organiser of the Hospital Library Service in Denmark, by Miss Redmayne, Hon. Librarian of St. Thomas's Hospital, London, by two American ladies engaged in similar work in the United States, and by Mrs. Gaskell of the British Red Cross Society. All were unanimous that a library service is a very great boon to hospitals both from the point of view of the patients and from that of the staffs. In a recent pamphlet of the British Red Cross we read : " At the Conference of the Royal Institute of Public Health at Portsmouth this year a resolution was passed approving the principle that a well-stocked library for the use of patients should form part of the curative equipment in *all* hospitals."

In Germany and in Sweden the movement has made great headway. But, as might be expected, it is in the United States that the greatest progress has been made. According to H. S. Cumming, Surgeon-General, U.S. Public Health Service, " No single welfare measure exceeds in value that of a library for hospital patients. . . . The hospital library is a solace to the sick, an aid to nurses and physicians, and an indispensable factor in preserving hospital morale." Many similar testimonies might be quoted. Is it too much to hope that some small proportion of the money that is to come to the Irish hospitals from the Sweepstakes will be devoted to a similar Library Service ?

To return to our Conference. I have space for but a few of

the noteworthy things that were said in the course of the proceedings. In view of the nonsense that has been talked, *à propos* (or *mal à propos*) of the Censorship Act, about "to the pure all things are pure," and so forth, it is interesting to record the view expressed by Lt. Col. J. H. Murray, head of the great publishing firm of John Murray, to the effect that whereas an ordinary poison only destroys a single life, a bad book can go on poisoning minds and morals for an indefinite length of time. A lady delegate, who had been chairman for many years of the Library Committee of the Borough of Bethnal Green, described the terrible housing conditions that prevailed in that part of London and the wretched conditions of life. She then gave it as her emphatic opinion that there is "no place on God's earth where books are more appreciated than in these overcrowded areas, where people are spiritually, even more than physically, starved." Again I should like, from quite a different point of view, to record the plea for the study of bibliography made by Mr. Ernest A. Savage, President of the Scottish Library Association. He considers that a grave defect of higher education is its failure to give even the elements of bibliographical instruction, *i.e.*, general acquaintance with the book-world and with the sources of the knowledge of books. Books are indispensable to all engaged in any industry, art, or profession. Bibliography should be regarded as an essential part of all advanced instruction in any branch of learning.

There was a pleasant symposium on publishing and bookselling, in which the subject was viewed from the author's, publisher's, bookseller's, and librarian's point of view respectively by four different speakers. Only the point of view of the general public seemed to be forgotten. The public, however, found a spokesman on another occasion in Mr. Hugh Walpole, the novelist, whose delightful address on The Place of Reading in the National Life was the tit-bit of the Conference. Unfortunately it defies all attempt at *résumé* or quotation.

There was no grand finale: the Conference broke up quietly, and the thousand delegates went their several ways. One may well believe that they returned to the daily routine of their work with a renewed sense of its value and importance and a certain fund of fresh information to enable them to do it more efficiently.

S. J. Brown

REVIEWS

Apologetics

NEWMAN'S APOLOGETIC. By J. D. Folghera, O.P. English Version by Philip Hereford. London : Sands. 1928. Pp. 252. 5s. net.

A NEWMAN SYNTHESIS. Arranged by Erich Przywara, S.J. London : Sheed & Ward. 1930. Pp. 379. 7s. 6d. net.

THE appearance of these two books on Newman, written from the same standpoint, but with different ranges, by a French Dominican and a German Jesuit, is an indication of the position that Newman is assuming for Catholic theology. Fr. Bede Jarrett, O.P., in his introduction to *Newman's Apologetic*, speaks " of the universal genius " of Newman ; mentions him in the one breath with St. Thomas and St. Jerome, as being " of that band and of that stature." Certainly Newman is being studied with that reverence and in that detail that are given only to the great intellectual figures, and to many he is beginning to appear as the greatest force in Catholic thought in this century.

The two books before us, which supplement each other, will help to support that view. Père Folghera's book is a study of Newman's special apologetic as seen in five questions of special apologetic interest, at least for English readers.

The introductory chapter is given to an account of the development of Newman's religious opinions. That story of the building of a Faith, of doubts and gropings, of failures and renouncements and painful triumphs, has been told in Newman's incomparable prose ; and in his account Père Folghera traces the advance with sureness and knowledge. Then there are five chapters given to a study of Newman's apologetic method, on miracles, on the Church, on Catholics and their Enemies, on the Blessed Virgin, on Infallibility. Under the skilful and competent guidance of the author, one gets a very good idea of the power and effectiveness of Newman as an apologist. Take the first chapter on Miracles. How very different from the sixth question of the *De Potentia* ; yet Fr. Bede Jarrett can say : " His work completes the theology of the scholastics." Those who are inclined to look upon Newman's works as " mere literature " will profit much from *Newman's Apologetic.*

Fr. Przywara's book is of wider range. He aims at arranging Newman's religious notions in a system. It is a delicate operation to perform on one whose thought is so fine and personal ; but it can be said that Newman's thought is not disfigured. This is certainly a beautiful book—easily the most faithful and satisfying volume of Newman's selections—and just because it presents his

mind in due order and proportion. The words on the wrapper, "a Newman *Summa*," will suggest a comparison with *the Summa*, and will be a healthy corrective to exaggeration. But then, in its own region and altitude—which was certainly not that of St. Thomas—what a wonderful mind was Newman's! Fr. Przywara's book will dispel a latent impression that Newman's range was narrow, that his outlook was merely ecclesiastic. His range was immense. On the greatness and mysteriousness of God, on the weakness and misery of man, on the workings of grace, on the action of the Church in the world, on sin and suffering, on Christ—how incomparably Newman speaks! *A Newman Synthesis* gives a very just idea of Newman's range and power. There is one omission that surprises us—not a page is given of all the beautiful things Newman wrote on Our Lady. H. K.

Asceticism

ENCHIRIDION ASCETICUM. Loci SS. Patrum et scriptorum ecclesiasticorum ad ascesim spectantes. Quos collegerunt M. J. Rouët de Journel, S.J. et J. Dutilleul, S.J. Freiburg: Herder. 1930. pp. 666. M. 13 (paper), M. 15 (cloth).

LA SPIRITUALITE DES PREMIERS SIECLES CHRETIENS. Par Marcel Viller, S.J. Paris: Bloud & Gay. 1930. 12 fr.

MEDIEVAL SPIRITUALITY. By Felix Vernet. Translated by the Benedictines of Talacre. (The Catholic Library of Religious Knowledge, Vol. XIII). London: Sands. 1930. 3s. 6d.

This *Enchiridion Asceticum* will take its place worthily on our shelves beside the indispensable *Denzinger-Bannwart* and its predecessors the *Enchiridion Patristicum* and the *Enchiridion Fontium Historiae ecclesiasticae antiquae* as one of the necessary tools of the Catholic theologian, publicist or preacher. These four volumes will save their owner many a troublesome research through old folios in perhaps distant libraries. The present volume will be of immense interest not merely to the student of Catholic spirituality, but to preachers, givers of retreats, spiritual directors, and even classical teachers who are interested in Patristic Latin and Greek. It was no small task to collect from the Fathers most of their texts relevant to asceticism and the spiritual life in general

To choose the best plants from such a vast garden of the soul called for sound judgment and tact. What to omit must have been the great puzzle to the compilers. Although the

collection is mainly ascetical in character, there are plenty of classical mystical texts, including some very tough ones from Dionysius. But I noted that a very famous saying of St. Antony was omitted from the texts of Cassian given in this volume : *Non est perfecta oratio in qua se monachus vel hoc ipsum quod orat intelligit.* Father Viller in his splendid little manual refers to this saying but mistranslates it : " Il n'y a pas de prière parfaite si le moine comprend ce qu'il demande." This misses the force of the " *se* " and would not deserve the Abbot Isaac's declaration that St. Antony's saying was heavenly and superhuman. Father Viller has, of course, read the *Interior Castle.* I wonder if he recognised St. Antony's prayer in St. Teresa's description of the prayer of union (Mansion V, pars. 3. 8. 9). It is the hardest of hard sayings for the meditationist ; but it is one of the great mystical dicta of all time.

But it is unfair to carp at a small point like this in a brief book of such outstanding merit as Fr. Viller's volume, which gives one such a splendid bird's eye view of the spirituality of the Church in the period covered by the *Enchiridion Asceticum.* It will be an invaluable guide to that period for anyone who has not time to consult the larger manuals. Father Viller does for the Patristic period what M. Felix Vernet has done for the Middle Ages. The English reader who has no French is now catered for by this excellent translation of the Benedictines of Talacre. Let us hope that Messrs. Sands & Co. will soon give us the translation of Father Viller's book.

There is one thought which the *Enchiridion Ascelicum* thrusts upon me. Why have we not a *Corpus Asceticum Hibernicum* on similar lines, a collection of all the texts of Irish Saints bearing on spirituality from St. Patrick to the coming of the Friars ? Why don't our Catholic Gaels do research work of this type ?

JOHN HOWLEY

THE NEW AND ETERNAL COVENANT. By Dom Anscar Vonier, O.S.B., Abbot of Buckfast. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1930. 6s. net.

PRAYER FOR ALL TIMES. Translated by Maud Monahan from *La Prière de toutes les heures* by Pierre Charles, S.J. Second and Third Series. London : Sands. 1929-1930. 5s. net each.

THE Abbot of Buckfast and the Jesuit professor of Theology at Louvain present a very marked contrast in their meditations ;

for we can regard, I think, the *New and Eternal Covenant* as a series of connected and very fruitful meditations. The Abbot leads us on to realise what God has done for us from all eternity; the Jesuit professor makes us reflect on what we should do for God in time. Père Charles is rather an *ascéteciste*, an exponent of "practical" prayer—shrewd, prudent, reasonable and persuasive; and yet he is more, for he stirs devotion and is full of thoughts which raise us up from our miseries to contemplate the mercies and love of God towards us. But his insistence is on the great things we should strive to do for God, while the Abbot dwells chiefly on the great things God has done for us. The two views are correlative; but at the present time when our Faith needs to be strengthened, the *New and Eternal Covenant* is perhaps the more important work. Abbot Vonier has the great gift of making you think *with* him rather than *after* him. The reader finds his mind running on to objection and discussion, only to find the author has anticipated him and expresses in the next page his own thoughts but in a better manner. In his preface he says: "This book is written to emphasise the 'God-ward' side of Catholicism and as a consequence to enhance the institutional aspects of our holy faith. I am conscious that I have undertaken an unpopular task in these days of crypto-modernism. Yet that peace of mind which comes from believing cannot be ours unless we accept resolutely the vast dogmatic truths whose power and whose life are independent of the transient moods and phases of the human mind." Abbot Vonier has largely succeeded in this great task, and his book will be an encouragement to the feeble-hearted. And it is a book that makes one think! JOHN HOWLEY

Biography

LEONARD LESSIUS. By Charles Van Sull, S.J. Louvain: Museum Lessianum. 1930. Pp. 364. 40 fr.

THE many here in Ireland who follow with interest and sympathy the fortunes of Louvain's Catholic University are already familiar with the name *Museum Lessianum.* Like the *Spicilegium Lovaniense*, the *Museum* is not directly under the control of the University, but is edited by a group of writers whose work is a very effective witness to the intellectual activity that has marked Louvain ever since the war. The *Spicilegium* is a joint enterprise, and brings together more than one religious order in the good work of Catholic scholarship. The *Museum* is a Jesuit undertaking, and it is but natural that this series of monographs on topics of

Jesuit interest should include a formal biography of the most famous Jesuit connected with the history of Louvain, Father Leonard Lessius (1554-1623).

Leonard Leys, to give him his Flemish name, was a native of a small Flemish village near Antwerp, and came as a student to Louvain at a time when the University was at the height of its fame and influence as a bulwark against the Calvinism and Lutheranism of Dutch and German scholars. Saint Robert Bellarmine was one of the Professors in the Jesuit College when young Leys was the most brilliant of the students in the Faculty of Philosophy, and the influence of the one on the other throughout life needs no comment. Leonard sought admission to the Society of Jesus immediately after a public display of exceptional brilliance, and the rest of his life was given mainly to the work of teaching and writing in his Alma Mater.

Some few facts are worth singling out as of special interest for the general reader, to whom this biography is mainly addressed. The friendship between Lessius and Justus Lipsius is of special note as an example of that Catholic Humanism which is characteristic of the Catholic reaction during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Lipsius himself had for a time been anxious to enter a Jesuit novitiate; but his vocation did not prove lasting, and he soon drifted into a chair at the Calvinist University of Leyden, where his faith was for many years a source of anxiety to his Catholic friends. Finally he threw up his chair at Leyden, made the Spiritual Exercises under a German Jesuit at Mainz, and spent the rest of his days as Professor at Louvain, where his influence as a leader of the Humanist movement was of immense value to his Alma Mater. Father Van Sull quotes some attractive letters from the scholar to the Jesuit theologian, who had been a lifelong friend, and whom he finally chose as his permanent confessor.

Then there is the tale of the amazingly successful fight made by Lessius himself against ill health and acute physical pain for the last thirty-five years of his life. Strict dieting was the secret of his success, and his treatise on the Art of Health, *Hygiasticon*, has been translated from the Latin into French, Flemish, Italian, Spanish, English and Polish. The austerity of his prescriptions comes unexpectedly from one whose moral theology was far from rigorous. But Lessius was in favour of fresh air and exercise, and towards the end of his life he made an unsuccessful attempt to win the Jesuit authorities in Rome to his point of view. Even more popular were his treatises of

ascetical theology: *De Summo Bono, De Perfectionibus Divinis, Recollectiones precatoriae,* and *De Divinis Nominibus.* These are generally accepted as the masterpieces of the saintly theologian; their influence is as strong to-day as ever, and it is good to get in a very complete and careful bibliography an accurate account of the editions and translations through which each has passed.

But perhaps for modern readers the most curious and instructive chapter in this volume is that in which Father Van Sull, following a more detailed study recently made by Father Collin, S.J., describes the activity of Lessius as consulting theologian, not only to the Archduke Albert, but also to the principal merchants and administrators of the Low Countries. Lessius had the good fortune to live at a time when the mediaeval economic and social conditions were rapidly yielding to the conditions of the modern world. Commerce and industry were taking on new forms, and state-policy was experimenting along lines that seemed morally wrong to old-fashioned theologians. Banking, money-lending, profiteering, underselling—these and similar problems were the occasion of anxious queries; and Lessius gave his replies in the form of a volume, *De Justitia et Jure,* which still ranks as a classic of moral theology. It was his duty to defend the legitimacy of more than one modern institution, whilst at the same time insisting on the necessity of respect for fundamental moral principles. His contribution to the theory of a just price and his defence of a moderate interest on loans have had permanent influence on later Catholic teaching, and his elaborate note on the *monts-de-piété* of his time, which is to be found in the later editions of his work, is a valuable document to illustrate the economic conditions of contemporary Flanders. Archduke Albert used to keep his copy of the work side by side with the sword of Austria on his table. The one, he said, taught him what orders to make; the other gave the sanction to what he had ordained. A. G.

AN APOSTLE OF THE LEPERS. The Ven. Peter Donders, C.SS.R. (1809-1887). By John Baptist Kronenburg, C.SS.R. Translated from the French version by John Carr, C.SS.R. London: Sands. 1930. Pp. 282. 7s. 6d. net.

This volume is a welcome addition to mission literature, and Fr. Carr deserves our gratitude for making available to English readers this full-length biography of the Ven. Peter Donders, C.SS.R. Heroic lives are not too numerous, even among missioners; and then the setting of this life is new. Not much has been written in English about the missionary work of the

Redemptorists in the swamps and plantations and leper settlements of Dutch Guiana. This volume relates a story of missionary endeavour and suffering that well deserved to be chronicled.

Peter Donders was born at Tilburg in Holland, the son of a weaver. He showed from childhood all those qualities that mark a man who seems destined to do great things for God's glory—a remarkable gift of prayer, innocence of life, zeal for souls, a strong spirit of mortification. He worked for a while as a weaver; but it was evident to all that he was meant to be a priest. A meeting in 1839, two years before his ordination, with Mgr. Groof, Prefect Apostolic of Surinam, was the occasion God made to introduce Peter Donders to his mission field. In September, 1841, he entered on his heroic missionary career. In 1866 he joined the Redemptorists.

In Paramaribo, the capital of Dutch Guiana, he worked for fourteen years, and found there only too much scope for his apostolic zeal. But he had come for the native races that lay inland among the swamps and plantations. At that time the labour on the sugar and cotton plantations was done by slaves, and Father Donders became their apostle. He organised regular visits to the plantations. In that land of rivers and streams and marshes he had to journey by water. In his boat—he himself praying in the stuffy cabin at the stern—he went up the main rivers and then on to side streams, pushing his way through dense reeds to the scattered plantations. There were the hardships of the climate, the opposition of owners and officials, the difficulties of stupidity and vice on the part of the slaves. But his patience and zeal and holiness were irresistible.

More heroic was his work for the lepers. The Dutch government had made a leper settlement at Batavia, on the river Coppename, and Father Donders volunteered for this mission and spent twenty-six years in it. He was about twelve years at this work before Fr. Damian went to Molokai; and it must be said that Batavia entailed a heroism of endurance that equalled anything that the great Damian had to endure. Twenty-six years among these poor living corpses, among all the horrors of sight and smell, dealing with vice, idolatry, degraded stupidity—that was the heroic missioner. And then there is the "saint"—for it is to his spiritual life, his love for God and zeal for souls, that we must look to account for such a career.

Fr. Kronenburg has given us a full picture of Peter Donders' labours, sufferings and virtues. In the final chapter he has given an account of the process of canonization up to date. W

trust and pray that the cause will go on triumphantly and soon give to the life and virtues of Fr. Donders that infallible testimony of the Church, which is only the manifestation of God's supreme testimony. H. K.

NICHOLAS OWEN. Journal of a Slave-dealer. Edited with an Introduction by Eveline Martin, M.A., Ph.D. London : Routledge. 1930. 7s. 6d.

Here's the record of an Irishman who set out to make his fortune in the year of grace 1746, and who died finally, a worn-out slave dealer on the Gold Coast, in March, 1758. Where was he from ? And of what family ? That is almost the only point in his career that Nics. Owen (to adopt his own spelling of his name) is shy about telling us of. Towards the end of his diary he gives a few facts. " My father hinherated a good estate from my grandfather, besides a great portsion by my mother, but by liveing in granduour above his fortune and with the help of a pirticular law sute, sunk him two low to be able to provide for his children and his manner of life lost him the affections of his friends and relations." So young Nicholas found himself cast loose on the world, somewhere in Ireland, and with the gift for picturesque spelling which is apparent from the extract I have given. He was also something of a draughtsman, and his diary is enlivened by numerous sketches of the African negroes among whom the last five years of his life were spent. These sketches, which are all faithfully reproduced in this edition, are not the least picturesque portion of his narrative. For example, under date April 1, 1748, we read : " As I have nothing extrornery this day I have drawn the King of Sherbrow in his full majestey with his gilt brass crown, siting in state over his delight, 2 pots of palm wine ; he has likewise 4 of his great lords at his feet as usual, with his trumpeter behind his chair and holding a bottle of brandy as if afreaid to set it down while he performs his office, for fear of an invession from some other quarter while he blows his blast out." And the sketch is even more spirited than the description.

Altogether Nicholas made six voyages : they are a good illustration in themselves of the sort of trade that was open to Irish and English adventurers of the period. In the first he sailed from Ireland to England, thence to the Caribbee Isles, where he touched at " the Island Mountserat, one of his Majesties plantations in the West Endies, chiefly inhabited by Irish with some few English." Thence he sailed back to Cork and Waterford, and so

to Liverpool. The second voyage was from Dublin to Philadelphia, carrying a cargo " of servants who shipped themselves volintary for the service of the British plantations in America "; from Philadelphia to Barbados, and so home to Dublin. On the third voyage Nicholas was accompanied by his younger brother Blayney, who was to remain with him to the end. The two brothers sailed from Liverpool to West Africa, where they took part in a mutiny and made their way to the coast with a boatload of everything except provisions, " which we intirely forgot or neglected." However they got safe ashore, and after various adventures " me and my brother disposed ourselves on board a sloop trading then for slaves, belonging to Rhoad Island in North America, Capt. Willm Brown Comander."

The next three voyages were on slave-trading vessels between West Africa and America. On the last the whole of the crew with the ship's cargo was seized and confiscated by the negroes as compensation for an outrage committed recently by some Dutch traders. For a few days the two brothers were kept as prisoners, but were finally released by the good offices of a Mr. Hall, like themselves a gentleman whom hard times had driven abroad to seek a livelihood, " one who said in his hart ' let tomorrow provide for itself,' and to conclude he had a good many principles of honour, yet mix't with some stains that made his character jubus." With Hall as their master the two brothers settled down to work as resident traders in the slave business, and of the morality of their employment Nicholas has no further comment to make than this : " Some people may think a scruple of congience in the above trade, but it's very seldom minded by our European merchts."

His brother adds a few pathetic notes to the diary after the death of Nicholas. His chief trust is in the Almighty, who " teaches me to look at every Christian as my brother and supply the place of the deceas'd which is some comfort to me, altho' it is but an imperfect imitation of his fraternall affection. Am very disconcolate, which is heightened by my solitude . . . ."; and so on for another page or two. And that is all. What happened Blayney we do not know, but the diary somehow or another found its way back to England, where it came into the possession of Mr. Commissioner Marsh, Chairman of the Navy Board and a personal friend of Lord Nelson. Miss Martin has now edited it for the first time from the MS. which has remained in the hands of Marsh's descendants, and it would be hard to find a more satisfactory editor. The text is printed word for word, with

all the quaint oddities of spelling untouched; there is a very competent Introduction of the little that is known of the author; and at the end of the book are some very curious notes, drawn mainly from contemporary books of travel.

A. G.

Celtica

FION GEARMANACH. Tadhg O Donnchadha d'aistrigh ón Ghearmáinis ar na fhoillsiú do Mhuinntir C. S. O Fallamhain teo. 1930. 1s. 6d.

Ta sean-aithne ag lucht na Gaoluinne, ní h-eadh ach ag an domhan Cheilteach, ar Thórna mar fhile, ach ar a bhfuil d'fhilidheacht tabhartha dhúinn aige, tá an bhuaidh, dar liom-sa, ag a chuid aistriúcháin ó Theanga na Gearmáine. I ndeagh-chuimhne ar an bhfear chlúmhail úd, Kuno Meyer, a dhein cion fir ar son ár dTeanga dhúthchais a cuireadh amach an leabhar.

Níor sparáladh Fíon Gearmánach, fíon cumhra, milis, ar Róisín Dubh ar theacht amach do'n leabhar nua. " Ut laetificet cor hominis " is eadh a tugadh ó thosach an fíon agus meidhir agus meanmna a chuirfidh an fhilidheacht so ar chroidhe na nGaedhal.

Tá sean agus nua go flúirseach ann ó Goethe agus níos sia siar ná san do dtí filí (aicme líonmhar díobh so) atá i n-a mbeathaidh fós. Heine is annsa le Tórna do réir dheallraimh agus cé thógfaidh air é ?

Is amhlaidh a chuirfidh an leabhar d'fhiachaibh ar a lán nách mé a gcuid leabhar nGearmánach a tharrac chúcha arís agus dánta de shaghas " Du bist wie eine Blume," " der Saenger," " Der Wind zieht seine Hosen an," " In mein gar zu dunkles Leben " agus seó eile dhíobh d'aithléigheadh.

Dar ndó is fiú iad d'aithléigheadh féibh mar a chum na filí iad ach ní n-a mbláthanna feóchta seargtha a gheobair iad aige Tórna, a gcumhracht ar ceal agus a ngile ar meath. Táid siad úr-thais bríoghmhar agus an súgh ag borradh ionnta. Tá simplidheacht ghreanta sa chainnt is annamh le fagháil i bhfilidheacht na Gaoluinne fós pé sgéal é.

Is maith is fiú comparáid a dhéanamh idir chúpla ceann aca chun buadh an aistriúcháin a bhreathnughadh go soiléir.

Mit deinen schoenen Augen
Hast du mich gequaelt so sehr,
Und hast mich zu Grunde gerichtet—
Mein Liebchen, was willst du mehr ?
Heine.

Ód dhá shúil ghreanta ghleóidhte
Atáim dom breódh go truaigh ;
Is iad do mhill tar fóir me—
'S cad eile leó atá uait ?
Tórna.

Ich singe wie der Vogel singt,
Der in den Zweigen wohnet ;
Das Lied, das aus der Kehle dringt,
Ist Lohn, der reichlich lohnet.
Doch darf ich bitten, bitt' ich Eins :
Lass mir den besten Becher Weins
In purem Golde reichen.

Goethe.

Is cosmhail mé is mo phort le h-éan
Amuigh ar ghéig go ceólmhar :
Le chéile gluaisid dréacht agus a luach
Óm béal-sin duais mo dhóithin ;
Acht maran miste liot mo ghuidhe,
Do b'ait liom deoch de sgoith an fhín
I gcorn aoibhinn órdha.

Tórna.

Maidir le clisteacht aistriúcháin is fiú an dá ghiota bheaga a chur ar aghaidh a chéile :—

" Teurer Freund, Was soll es nuetzen,
Stets das alte Lied zu leiern ?
Willst du ewig bruetend sitzen
Auf den alten Liebeseiern ?

Ach, Das ist ein ewig Gattern,
Aus den Schalen kriechen Kuechlein,
Und sie piepsen und sie flattern,
Und du sperrst sie in ein Buechlein.

Heine.

A chara dhílis, cad é an mhaith é
Síorghabháil an tseana dhána,
Choidhche ar gor ní dóigh go bhfanfair
It nid os cionn na seanubh grádh soin.

Ach-sin nós is fós tá ar marthain :
Bristear plaoisg is tagann ál beag ;
Léigid gíocs is déinid sgreadaigh,
Is dúnair iad i leabhar clárach.

Tórna.

ach ní beag san. Sé is fearra dhuit, a léighteóir, an leabhar a sholáthar duit féin agus é a léigheadh agus é bhlaiseadh. Tá seóda nách iad san le fagháil ann, m.sh. l. 46, " Die Wacht am Rhein " (Schneckenburger) ; l. 44, " Prinz Eugen, der edle Ritter " (Freiligrath), agus ceannín beag, l. 65, " Abendhimmel " (Finck), d'oirfeadh an ceann san mar theidiol do'n leabhar ach gan an fíon a bheith " ar amaiste." C. Ua M.

Economics

A TREATISE ON MONEY. By J. M. Keynes. Two volumes. London : Macmillan. 1930. 30s. net.

Mr. Keynes's long and eagerly awaited *Treatise on Money* is one of those books that it is difficult to review after a single reading. It is so learned, so witty, so original, so provocative and, in places, so difficult that all one can do is record one's first impressions and then settle down to study the book in earnest. The Treatise is divided into two parts ; the first volume is entitled *The Pure Theory of Money*, and the second *The Applied Theory of Money* ; and there is something to be said in favour of reading the second volume before the first. To praise Mr. Keynes's method of presenting his subject would be impertinent. All that need be said is that the work is embellished with a wealth of

historical and statistical illustration, and is enlivened by numerous brilliant paradoxes and epigrams, which make it a delight to read.

The first volume opens with some preliminary definitions. Bank money is taken as typical, State money being regarded as secondary. Bank money is divided into income deposits, business deposits and savings deposits, and it is shown that these three classes of deposits differ in many essential respects, especially in their velocity of circulation. A distinction is drawn between industrial and financial circulation, the volume and velocity of which are regulated by different factors. An excursus on the methods of measuring the value of money constitutes a notable addition to the literature on index numbers.

The third book, entitled *The Fundamental Equations of Money*, contains the core of the author's contribution to the theory of the subject. A somewhat novel definition of the different classes of income is given, and it is shown that the price levels of consumption and investment goods are not subject to the same influences. An important distinction is drawn between the rate of saving and the rate of investment, and it is argued that these two movements can be made to proceed at an equal pace by the manipulation of bank rate, which exercises an influence on the price level through its effect on the rate of investment and on the price of capital goods. It is claimed that this new analysis of the factors affecting prices provides a basis of agreement for the various schools of monetary thought, represented on the one hand by the ultra-conservative financial newspapers, and on the other by the numerous schools of currency cranks. The next book, entitled *The Dynamics of the Price Level*, discusses the movements that occur when a position of equilibrium is disturbed by changes in monetary, investment, or industrial influences. A distinction is drawn between a transition from one position of equilibrium to another, and oscillations around a position of stable equilibrium. The so-called credit cycle is shown to be a movement of the latter kind.

The second volume opens with a new analysis of the conception of velocity. Owing to the different velocities of income, business and saving deposits, the velocity of circulation of money as a whole can change as a result of changes in the proportion of total deposits held on the different kinds of account. It is argued that banks always lend the maximum amount of their resources, and that they react to the various phases of the credit cycle by altering, not the amount, but the nature of their loans. This

is followed by a discussion of the factors affecting the rate of investment in fixed, working and liquid capital respectively, illustrated by a brilliant historical excursus in which the author's literary powers are fully displayed. A strong plea is made in favour of a rising rather than a falling price level.

Finally, we come to the constructive proposals for stabilizing the price level, up to which the whole discussion has been leading. The price level, being mainly determined by the rate of investment, which affects the price of the output of industry and the level of money earnings, can be controlled by an intelligent manipulation of the rate of discount. Modern banking systems give ample power of controlling the amount of money in circulation to the central banks, which are, however, themselves fettered by antiquated restrictions designed to prevent an internal drain of gold. It is suggested that the level of gold reserves should be fixed by the central banks' external requirements alone, and that member banks should be compelled to keep a certain minimum ratio of reserves to deposits. Assuming that an international standard is desirable (which the author strongly doubts), gold will serve the purpose better than anything else, but it must be reduced to the position of a " constitutional monarch " from its present position of autocracy. No fears need be entertained of a world gold shortage, if the central banks can be induced to refrain from scrambling for the available supplies.

The problem of managing the internal stability of the currency while maintaining an international standard can, it is suggested, be solved by widening the gap between the gold points and thus reducing international gold movements. This can be done by increasing the difference between the central banks' buying and selling price for gold, and by the quotation of forward exchange rates. Various methods, including differential rates of income tax, are suggested whereby the amount of foreign lending can be controlled, and other methods designed to influence the rate of home investment are also outlined. The success of these methods to secure price stability would depend upon the correctness of the fundamental thesis of the first volume, that the price level is the result of the rate of investment, and on the further assumption, which the author maintains, that the short interest rate influences the long. Such control is, however, subject to the " insuperable limitation " imposed by international monetary conditions, and it is obvious that some co-operation between central banks must supplement mere isolated national action.

The methods of securing such international co-operation are

next discussed. The principal aims must be to stabilise gold prices and to economize the use of gold. These objects could be attained by the adoption of a "crude international tabular standard" based on the wholesale price of sixty-two commodities, supplemented by an agreement among central banks to accept substitutes for gold for part of their reserves, to increase their holdings with each other and in the Bank of International Settlements, to vary their gold reserve requirements when requested to do so by a central representative committee, and to widen the difference between their buying and selling price for gold. These proposals will be recognized as being essentially conservative in their nature. Mr. Keynes would have preferred the abolition of gold altogether; but, now that it is in universal use, it must be accepted as an accomplished fact and an improved system of monetary management constructed upon it. This conservatism will enable the constructive proposals of this remarkable book to be soberly and dispassionately weighed, because there is nothing in them subversive of what is best—or, at least, of what is generally thought to be best—in the existing monetary structure. Mr. Keynes differs from the majority of monetary reformers in that he is primarily concerned to build and not to destroy. G. O'B.

THE FIVE YEAR PLAN OF THE SOVIET UNION. By G. T. Grinko. London: Martin Lawrence. 1930. 8s. 6d.

The author, when he wrote this book, was a member of the State Planning Commission of the Soviet Union, which is the body that drew up the Plan. One notices that the translation is made and the book printed in the United States. There have been two other American books on the Plan emanating from Soviet sources. One was a bare statement of the Plan; the other, written by Mr. Saul Bron, now the Soviet Trade Commissioner in England, dealt with the operation of the Plan in the light of the first year's working. The present book has "a political interpretation" as its sub-title, and this is a good description of it. Unlike the two earlier books mentioned, this has not been written to lure American bankers and industrialists to grant credits to the Soviet. Mr. Grinko writes for foreigners, but for those who already have socialistic or communistic sympathies. He makes no disguise of his robust Bolshevism and his hatred and contempt not only for capitalist countries, White Russian emigrés, and the bourgeois remnants in Russia, but for the Right Wing in the Communist Party itself.

Mr. Grinko believes in making large claims. He writes as if

Soviet policy had never been wrong, not even in the period of War Communism, or the New Economic Policy. As for the Five Year Plan, he repeats many times that the slogan, "Complete the Five Year Plan in Four Years," is likely to be realized. Before his book could be published the Plan was in arrears in several departments, and the beginning of its third year has been postponed for three months from October, 1930, to January, 1931. Mr. Grinko is now Commissar for Finance, and he is having to warn Soviet industry against the deceitful stimulus of inflation which has enabled the Plan to obtain some of its apparent success. These facts should be remembered by the readers of Mr. Grinko's book, for the book itself makes stirring reading, though parts of it are mere transcriptions of bald statements of the Plan that have appeared in other books. The freshness of Mr. Grinko's exposition comes from his showing the processes as well as the goals of the Plan, and also the political, social and geographical factors which have shaped the making of the Plan. The author's dicta are piquant in their bluntness and audacity. He says: "It can hardly be doubted that their own interests, as well as the clash of interests among them, will force individual capitalist countries and groupings to extend to the Soviet Union larger credits, on better terms than previously, for the realization of its great programme of industrial development. Capital investments in Soviet industry are too promising and safe not to be inviting." It is, indeed, the mutual jealousies, "the clash of interests," that causes capitalist countries to extend credits to the Soviet. But as for the investments being safe, one has only to remember the British Lena Goldfields Company which, according to the judgment of a German arbitrator, has recently been deprived by the Soviet Government of property to the value of £13,000,000.

H. S.

THE EXPERIMENT OF BOLSHEVISM. By Arthur Feiler. London: Allen & Unwin. 1930. 10s. 6d.

NEARLY 10,000 copies of the German edition of this work were sold in five months from publication. It has quickly and deservedly acquired an international reputation. The book is vividly written and seems to deal with every aspect of present-day life under the Soviet in which the general reader will be interested. It mingles appreciation and criticism of Bolshevism, and conveys an impression of objectiveness and impartiality. A skilful writer can convey this impression very misleadingly, but the present reviewer has been in Russia, and the views he formed at first

hand agree with those set forth in Mr. Feiler's book. A Catholic, however, feels impelled to be something more than objective in face of the anti-God campaign, which Mr. Feiler touches upon lightly, and the horrifying perversion to something worse than pagan morals. The reviewer also thinks that the economic emancipation of women under Bolshevism is interpreted too favourably by Mr. Feiler. The degradation of human nature involved in the collectivization of the Bolshevists is powerfully suggested by Mr. Feiler, but a Christian will think that he has not got to the spiritual root of the evil, nor does he see the only real remedy. Nevertheless, this is a book to be read by those who would understand Soviet Russia. H. S.

Education

CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES. By Rev. Urban Corrigan, M.A. Sydney : Angus and Robertson. 1930. Pp. 164. 3s. 6d.

This small bu very well filled volume, concerning the origins and development of Catholic schools in the Ecclesiastical Province of Sydney, will be of wide and real service. Though issued in a *format* not adequate to its worth, and though the numerous documents cited are set out in type altogether too small for the use of the average reader, it will be of considerable value to Irish as well as to Australian students of the history of Catholic Education. The author has made good use of both printed and unprinted sources, and has established the close connection between the history of Catholic Schools under the State National Board in Dublin, 1831 to 1880, and the corresponding position in New South Wales. Indeed that important aspect of this work would give advantageous results if further explored.

One-fifth of the entire content is devoted to the educational work and leadership of Archbishop Roger Bede Vaughan, O.S.B. (1873-1882), covering a decade of capital significance in this field of Catholic Action. For numerous reasons, this is the section that will be most fully appreciated by the reader conversant with European and American problems in Public Education. The term is used advisedly. It should always be maintained that every school, explicitly Catholic in its commission, whether it is staffed by religious or by clerics or by lay Catholics, whether primary or secondary, is a Public School, acting under Public Authority, and not a Private School. This is the basic principle on which claims to equal financial treatment and all other

equities rest. Archbishop Vaughan and his colleagues saw this, and gave it full effect in their masterly Pastoral of 1879. Even at the sacrifice of some of the commentary on it and other documents, it would be desirable that they should be given in full and in connected form. The same process could usefully be applied to the statistical side.

As in the United States, so too in Australia, the main service, the main cost in every form of personal effort and sacrifice for Catholic Education, has fallen on the individual members of Teaching Institutes, men and women. It has fallen chiefly, and very heavily too, on the women. The sustained strain thus caused has on the whole been far from being duly recognised by the Catholic populations which they have served under extremely trying conditions, conditions even now calling for remedy and redress. Brother Urban Corrigan promises a second volume, dealing with this aspect of Catholic Action. It is highly desirable that it should be ample both in documents and in all statistical data. T. C.

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND EDUCATION IN A REPUBLIC. By Professor C. F. Arrowood, University of Texas. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1930. Pp. 180. 1 dollar.

SOMEWHAT more than half of this work is devoted to a series of extracts from the various writings of Jefferson concerning education in all grades, the passages chosen being in many cases unavoidably isolated, and even fragmentary. With the help of the additional passages cited in Professor Arrowood's introductory chapters, it is, despite these drawbacks, feasible to form a definite concept of how Jefferson viewed education. He was a believer in the education of the citizen to make the citizen effective, before all else, in controlling the public holders of civic offices, legislative, executive, judicial. To this central position, which Dr. Arrowood does not trace to its fairly obvious origins among the theorists of the French Revolutionary Assemblies, Jefferson added other elements, also obviously of French origin. He was secular, if not secularist, in his outlook. He favoured the poor man's son, but he apparently held that only an extremely minute percentage of them all deserved to have a chance of educational betterment.

The details of these plans are given perhaps over-elaborately by Dr. Arrowood. A definite statement, in a few pages, of the actual statistical situation as to education in Virginia, 1776-1826,

is quite lacking ; it is essential as the basis of Jefferson's activities and proposals. The sketchy character of this portion of his work —it is one of a new series of " Educational Classics "—inevitably makes the student turn to Jefferson's views as to the curriculum of a Liberal Education. Here, though often in a brief space and by means of disconnected passages, much significant matter may be gleaned.

The thoroughgoing character of Jefferson's belief in the study of Greek and Latin will surprise good Americans of to-day much more than it will even edify good Europeans. To these, it need hardly be added, he commended especially the Code of Justinian. History should, he argued, be read and studied only in the original sources. Physical Science could best be dealt with in Latin text-books, as Mussenbrochius. In a word, the great democrat's arguments and plans for Classical Studies would entirely surprise many modern inventors of new arguments for the defence of Greek no less than of Latin. For he maintained the claims of *all* the Liberal Arts to a real place in a sound general education. Advocates of " classics " are to-day often narrow indeed in their curriculum and in their aim. Not so Thomas Jefferson. T. C.

History

THE STRUGGLE FOR LAND IN IRELAND, 1800-1923. By John E. Pomfret. New Jersey : Princeton University Press ; London : Milford. 1930. 14s.

PROFESSOR POMFRET's book is a monument of research, and is certainly the best history of the Irish Land Question ever compiled. Professor Pomfret has left no source of knowledge unexplored. I say this with certainty, because fifty years ago I had to put together a history of the same nature (entitled " Why there is an Irish Land Question ") for the information of Counsel for the Land League, whose chiefs were under indictment by the Crown in December, 1880. My youthful essay was based chiefly on the works of Isaac Butt and Father Lavelle, P.P., whereas Professor Pomfret has ransacked sources of information which would have taken me too long to analyse in the compilation of a hurried history for the lawyers of the traversers. He seems to have studied every statute passed by the British Parliament after the famine, as he cites no less than twenty-five Land Acts passed between the years 1870 and 1923.

In addition to analysing these Measures, Professor Pomfret has dived into every Parliamentary record bearing on them.

We get quotations from Hansard's Debates, from the Census Reports, from reports of the Land Commission, of the Estates Commissioners, of the Congested Districts Board, of the Department of Agriculture, of the Poor Law Commission, reports on migratory labourers, reports on draining and cultivating bogs, on diseases and conditions of the labouring poor, on the relations between landlord and tenant, reports of Select Committees of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and endless other documents. To compile such a book must have involved years of labour. One cannot, of course, take for granted every inference drawn by the author as to conditions in Ireland, but certainly he will have no competitor as a historian of the Land Question since the Union of 1800.

Professor Pomfret's style is at times more American than English or Irish, and he strains after impartiality in a way that occasionally seems over squeamish. Yet no advocate of the landlord class can find comfort from the presentation which he makes of the struggle for Irish land. That struggle is no longer remembered keenly by the present generation, and it may be doubted whether the sale of such a work will be profitable. It has certainly not been written as a best seller, although many of the quotations which it sets forth are profoundly interesting, even at the present day.

Every book, of course, must have its faults. In the case of Professor Pomfret's it is a pity that he is apt to swallow without reflection the criticism of contemporary economists on the effect of the Landed Estates Act and the Encumbered Estates Act. If the tenants' improvements had been protected in the new conveyances under these Measures, half the Land Question would have been solved. Instead of tenant right being safeguarded, many of the " Conditions of Sale " issued by the Courts bore these ominous words : " The tenants are prosperous and low-rented and can easily bear an increase of rent." The author's reference to the Civil Bills Act as facilitating evictions shows, however, an acute understanding. Yet he warns readers against T. P. O'Connor's book on the Parnell Movement as " highly partisan," whereas it is most informative. Even Locker Lampson's work, which is that of a mild English Conservative, he describes as " intensely anti-English." His opinions, of course, are drawn mostly from books without any inside knowledge. He has not even discovered that the vapid sketch of Parnell by the Belfast journalist, Mr. St. John Irvine, was inspired by the " highly partisan " T. P. O'Connor, and declares it will " augment

Parnell's legend "—despite the devastating criticism of Irvine by William O'Brien, the greatest champion of "the Chief." On the other hand, no treatise in favour of landlordism is described as partisan or anti-Irish, and thus Ireland gets a powerful vindication of her case from an unwilling witness. These criticisms, however, are in no wise meant to detract from the value of the book as a storehouse of history. Some passages from previous authors the Professor merely skims, but mere reference to them, which include German and French appreciations, will prove of use to that ghostly doomster, "the future historian."

T. M. Healy

A HISTORY OF THE VIKINGS. By T. D. Kendrick, M.A. London: Methuen. 1930. 18s. net.

Mr. Kendrick's book is more than it claims to be. In the customary presentation of European history after the fall of the Western Empire, we are made spectators from a standpoint here or there within this or that region. The internal standpoint is instructive, but it is not comprehensive. If a biologist could live in the interior of a living animal and carry on his observation there, he would probably learn much that could not be learned otherwise, but his view of the life of his subject would be somewhat incomplete and, in relation to other living things, somewhat disproportionate. This Europe of ours is a unit, separate sovereignties and their hostilities notwithstanding. The ordinary way of writing history is antagonistic to the sense of its unity, and by it a subtle war propaganda is insinuated even in the minds of children. In the plan and treatment adopted by Mr. Kendrick we are carried in a succession of Viking excursions which bring us in the East from the Baltic overland to the Black Sea and up to the gates of Constantinople, in the West around all the countries of Western Europe, which we see as a community of nations from an outside standpoint—our stand, however, being in the bow of a ship.

A pleasantly readable and instructive introduction is followed by a survey of the archaeology of the Scandinavian countries, in which the author is less than merciful to readers who do not revel in the technicalities of archaeology. When he comes into the realm of history he shows that complete sympathy which is a condition *sine qua non* for the historian of any people and which need not imply, and for Mr. Kendrick does not imply, antipathy towards the peoples who resisted them or by whom they were resisted. Various hypotheses to explain the Viking activities and

migrations are discussed. Possibly the chief explanation is to be found in the excellent drawing of a Viking long-ship on page 25. There we see the experience of generations of mariners and craftsmen embodied in a marvel of constructive skill, a work of art in every line. The tale is told well and brightly of the fortunes of the Norsemen, in their own lands where they fought each other like the proverbial bag of weasels, and in the countries invaded by them. In Chapter IX we find a brief yet luminous survey of the Norse invasions and settlements in Ireland and their relations to the Irish nation.

It is curious to think that this group of peoples, once ruthless in strife and bloodshed, are the leaders of the world to-day in the cause of international peace. In other respects also they are giving a worthy lead. Their national policies are no longer foolishly centred in that root of war and hatred, the magnification of the State, but have regard chiefly to the civilisation of the people, and their rulers and teachers have encouraged and taught, in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, affection and reverence for the national tradition in all things great and small.

Mr. Kendrick has an interesting discussion of the word Viking. For the use of the word and for its ancient pronunciation in Ireland he has failed to notice Miss Eleanor Knott's Introduction to *The Poems of Tadhg Dall O Huiginn*, p. xx. The surname now disguised in the English spelling "O'Higgins" was originally Ua h-Uicing, and in that form, along with Mac Danair, "son of the Dane," is found in a list of the surnames of Fir Sceindi in the Book of Lecan, p. 458. Comparison with the annals indicates that the families of this group belonged to Mid-Ulster. The most southerly townland of Tirconaill, bordering on Fermanagh, bears a name, "Ballymunterhiggin," showing that it was once a seat of the Ua h-Uicing family. The Irish surname shows that the word Viking when it came to Ireland was pronounced *wicking*.

The illustrations give a good notion of the artistic tastes and powers of the Northmen. There are about 30 maps and plans, and not one too many in such a work. Page 270 shows a contemporary picture of Cnut, king of England, in full costume, tunic, kilt, short cloak, long stockings and light shoes.

Mr. Kendrick writes pleasantly and vividly and in a manner well suited to his theme.

E.MacN.

THE FASTI OF ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN. By Hugh Jackson Lawlor, D.D., Dean of St. Patrick's. Dundalk: W. Tempest. 1930. Pp. 336. 20s. net.

This work is not a history of St. Patrick's Cathedral, though it provides material for such a history; it is, as the title *Fasti* says, merely a chronological list of the succession of the Deans, Dignitaries, Prebendaries, Canons, Vicar Chorals, and other officials and servants of the Cathedral from the earliest times down to the present day, together with the succession of the clergy of St. Nicholas without the walls, and an appendix on the French Congregation that formerly (1666-1816) held its services in St. Patrick's. With unwearied labour the author has tried to determine the dates of the appointment of some 2,000 persons to various offices in connection with the Cathedral. Previous works have gained Dr. Lawlor a reputation for thoroughness and accuracy in these matters, and the present book confirms it. It is therefore bound to be of great service to all those who deal with the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, especially during the Middle Ages.

The *Fasti* does not supplant the *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral* published in 1820 by Wm. Monck Mason. It adds to Mason succession lists of dignitaries and officials with whom he did not deal; but Mason, in giving the succession of Deans, added all that was known to him of their career, and so for historical purposes his work is still indispensable. Except for the forty pages of the Introduction, Dr. Lawlor confines himself to dates, and does not adopt the narrative style. To most readers, therefore, the Introduction will prove more attractive. There he deals with the ancient church that preceded the Cathedral, and gives reasons to show that its existence can be traced back to the tenth or eleventh century. He argues strongly for the view that the Collegiate Church of St. Patrick's founded by John Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin in 1191-92, was meant by him to be a cathedral from the start. His explanation of the existence of two cathedrals in Dublin is, that Comyn intended to suppress the Chapter of Regulars in Christchurch and substitute a chapter of Secular Canons at St. Patrick's instead, but the Christchurch chapter refused to be suppressed, and the contention ended by both continuing in existence.

But this book has not only the merit of Dr. Lawlor's other writings, it has also the great defect of the same. He attempts to write the ecclesiastical history of Ireland from the unscientific point of view of seventeenth century Protestant historians, and

would seemingly like us to believe that no wild religious revolution disturbed the calm of clerical life in the middle of the sixteenth century. The expulsion of the Catholic clergy from their cathedrals and churches, and the cessation of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, which the liberality of Catholic piety had endowed, get no notice from him, though they are the most prominent events in the Fasti of St. Patrick's. He gives not the slightest indication that, at a certain point in these succession lists, the line of Catholic clergy was interrupted by the intrusion of an invalidly ordained clergy. Neither does he seem to be aware that the line of Catholic Deans, etc., did not cease at their forcible expulsion, but has continued in many cases unbroken down to our own day. These are grave defects in scientific history. Otherwise the book will render good service to the student of medieval history by the exactness of the chronology and the information it gives about the Catholic clergy in Dublin in pre-Reformation days. JOHN MACERLEAN

FROM JUSTINIAN TO LUTHER, A.D. 518 *to* 1517. By Leighton Pullan, D.D. Oxford University Press. 1930. 12s. 6d. net.

THE hurried student, anxious to career at express speed through the whole of the Middle Ages, will find this book to his liking. Hand-in-hand with a kindly and well-read guide he will be swept over mountain and gorge, until hardly a single nook or cranny of a vast and difficult wonderland is left unvisited. Strong, indeed, will he prove himself to be if he arrives at his journey's end without having found the pace overpowering.

Many are the statements in the course of the book which, we are convinced, further study will lead Dr. Pullan to modify. St. Patrick, for instance, is not "more closely identified with the North of Ireland" than with the midlands and the east, for Trim and Sletty were his chief foundations after Armagh. Again, "he is said to have visited Connaught" is a misleading understatement of his connection with the west, which is as fully attested as any other part of his missionary activity. To say that St. Augustine of Canterbury was "often prudent" is to recall distressing reminiscences of the curate's egg, and is scarcely just to the good monk and missioner. We are told that the tonsure worn by the Celtic clergy was "nearly the same as that worn by the Celtic laity," an item of news that excites our curiosity, for it is impossible to prove that any kind of tonsure was worn by the "Celtic laity." Speaking of

the decline of "Celtic Christianity," Dr. Pullan gives, as the two elements of weakness, the adoption of the Latin language by the Celtic missionaries and "the character of the Celtic monastic rules"; but these were on the contrary two elements of strength. Through the Latin language the Irish and British churchmen secured direct and living contact with the great literary culture of the Occident, and through their religious rules they infused new religious life into the regions where they settled. That the Benedictine succeeded the Columban rule on the Continent because the former was "intrinsically better" is open to discussion; and the insinuation that St. Columban's monks, in contrast with those of St. Benedict, could spend much of their time in idleness must be described as amazing.

Dr. Pullan speaks of errors made by the Celtic churchmen, and suggests means by which "the struggle with Rome might have been indefinitely prolonged"; but the very wording of this thesis shows the influence of the Reformation and puts the question at issue in an utterly unhistorical light. Celtic churchmen never had any dispute with Rome as such; on the contrary, the chair of St. Peter in Rome was for them in every age the most venerated see in the Christian world. In the controversy which arose about comparatively insignificant points of discipline the Celtic Church came into conflict, first with the Church in Gaul, then with the Church in England, thirdly (and in anything but an acute form) with the Holy See. It allowed, in the sequel, its own customs to drop, actuated before all else by respect for the see of Peter. Even Bede, a violent partisan on the question of the Easter Reckoning, gives abundant evidence that the Irish and the Anglo-Saxon Churches were on terms of intimacy during the whole period of controversy, and shiploads of Anglo-Saxon youths repairing to Ireland for their studies show that the Irish Church was not behind the English in orthodoxy.

On the celebrated subject of Pope Honorius the author's treatment arouses misgiving, for he gives us to understand that Bishop Hefele considered that Pope a Monothelite, though the learned bishop is well known to have held the contrary view; and Dr. Pullan himself condemns as "clearly heretical" a statement by the Pope which is clearly not heretical, since the Pope does not commit himself to the doctrine that there is but one will in Christ. Towards Pope John XXII Dr. Pullan is extremely unjust, for he neglects to point out that John's teaching on the Beatific Vision was formulated before his elevation to the Roman See and that it was definitely retracted by him as Pope, so that the

error must be laid to the charge of John as a private theologian. The summary of Scotus Eriugena's philosophic system is too vague and too meagre to convey much to the general reader. Almost everything said of Catholic theology in the Middle Ages calls for careful revision. There is no reason whatever to believe that the great Cardinal Ximenes may have been of Jewish descent, and the ground on which Dr. Pullan suggests the possibility of such ancestry is worthless. Hus but ill deserves the sympathetic treatment which his name receives, for he died a martyr to Slav nationalism rather than to the cause of ecclesiastical reform. Nor is it correct to state that Sir Thomas More "refused to take the oath which required fidelity to Anne's issue," for More was ready to accept the Act of 1534 in so far as it concerned Anne—thus, it must be admitted, going too far along the path of conciliation, for Catherine was Henry's legitimate spouse. What More could not accept in the Act was the formal rejection of papal authority.

These are but a few of the errors in Dr. Pullan's interesting book, and they have been mentioned to show that the student should be cautious in its use. J. R.

FROM ORPHEUS TO PAUL. A History of Orphism. By Vittorio D. Macchioro. London : Constable. 1930. 12s. 6d.

This book contains a series of lectures delivered under the auspices of the Schermerhorn Foundation at Columbia University, New York, in the winter of 1929. Its author is a Neapolitan Professor, who has already made his name well known by his contributions to the study of Orphism. The wrapper of the book informs us that "he has lived for years among the beautiful relics of the Orphic cults." He has undoubtedly made a long and far-reaching study of the literary texts relating to the subject and of modern work upon it in many languages. Unfortunately, everyone at all familiar with the question is aware in the first place that the relics of the Orphic cults have nothing beautiful about them, and in the second that Professor Macchioro's teaching upon them is in general far from sound. His purpose in these lectures is to trace the origin of Orphism to a Bronze Age prophet of the same order as the founders of the Ghost-dance Religion in America, to show that Orphism was non-Greek both in its beginnings and in its development, to prove that it exerted a profound influence of a disintegrating kind on Greek religion and more beneficient on philosophy, and finally to equate it with the Christianity of St. Paul. He ends up with a chapter headed "Past and Future"

in which he makes certain rather vaguely-worded recommendations to mankind at large. He wishes, in order to save Christianity from the paganism of theology, to transform the latter into mythology. What he means by either of these terms it is difficult to say.

Orphism, we learn from Plato, was in ancient times a happy hunting-ground for quacks and charlatans. In the last century or so it has been the fertile field for all kinds of foolish and fantastic speculations. Our information about it is largely at second or third hand, and the sources we have to use for it are both late and very often highly unreliable. Professor Macchioro, like many others, maintains its Thracian origin, and holds that it was the religion of a definite community, singularly stable in its own teaching and at the same time capable of far-reaching penetration into other types of belief and practice. He attributes to it a doctrine of sin and of rewards and punishments in a future life based upon ethical ideas of good and evil. He recognises that there is a serious gap in his chain of " historical " connection, a gap coterminous with the long period between Plato and Paul ; but he supposes, on no particular evidence except the fanciful relation between Orphism and Pauline Christianity, which is precisely what he purports to prove, that an Orphic communion continued to exist in full vigour during all that long period. Now every one of these theses is open to question, and most of them are rejected by the consensus of competent authorities. We do not know at all how or where Orphism originated ; it contains elements that point rather to the Bronze Age Aegean area than to Thrace ; its greatest influence was in Southern Italy and Sicily ; it seems to have continually grown and to have been syncretistic from the beginning ; several of its theological or mythological ideas and even terms are not heard of until Aristotle ; it was rather open to penetration than influential, at least in its early period, and in particular had very little influence on the Eleusinian mysteries, which influence Professor Macchioro takes for granted ; it was rather magical than ethical in its eschatology and ritual ; and finally, it is as certain as anything can be that it had gone out of existence as a living religious influence long before the time of St. Paul.

Apart from the general unsoundness of his conclusions, Professor Macchioro's book contains evidence of serious lack of responsibility in matters of detail. Perhaps the worst case of this is his attempt to prove the Orphic origin of Heraclitus' philosophy. He cites a number of texts, each one of which, including one

quoted at length in his own notes, is seen to prove on examination exactly the opposite of what he claims. Another instance is provided by his references to the uprooting of Pythagoreanism in Italy. In one place he dates this, to the reader's surprise, in the fourth century B.C., backing up his date by a reference to the recent work of another Italian scholar. Everywhere else he puts the event where it is usually put, in the fifth century. A minor instance is his reckoning of "Pietro" Gassendi among the eighteenth-century philosophers of the Encyclopédie. The book is sprinkled with forms of nomenclature that seem to have been hastily transferred from Italian into English. Altogether it is a work which in its spirit and execution resembles rather the farrago of a Neoplatonist of the decadence than the product of twentieth-century historical science. M. T.

THE ROMANCE OF THE PORTUGUESE IN ABYSSINIA. By Charles F. Rey. London: Witherby. 1929. 18s. net.

Mr. Rey has a fascinating story to tell, and he writes with the added advantage of a traveller who knows well the land of which he speaks. Yet his book is on the whole a disappointment, for its author is that most irritating of story-tellers, an amateur historian with a habit of flippant comment.

His book falls naturally into two halves. In the first he tells the tale of the three Portuguese diplomatic missions to "Prester John" of Ethiopia: the mission of Joao Peres de Covilhao in 1487 and the following years; the mission of Rodrigo da Lima in 1520-1526; and the mission of Christovao da Gama and his four hundred valiant companions, which set out for Abyssinia in 1541. The astonishing achievements of Don Christovao da Gama, son of the great Vasco da Gama, have been worthily narrated in the story of his campaigns told by the Bernal Diaz of his army, Miguel de Castanhoso. It is an epic in the true heroic style, and—unlike other such adventures—has had a permanent effect in history. For that small band of Portuguese crusaders—the word is fairly chosen—succeeded within two years in permanently freeing Abyssinia, or Ethiopia, as they called it, from the menace of Mohammedan conquest. They had hoped for more, but what they achieved is sufficient for glory. The attempt to reunite this sundered fragment of Christianity with the See of Rome was more properly reserved for missionary priests.

Failure to appreciate the religious forces at work in the country is particularly apparent in the second half of Mr. Rey's narrative. Here he has to deal almost exclusively with the Jesuit missions,

for the Jesuits were left to work out their solution of the problem alone, without that military assitance which was characteristic of the first phase of Portuguese policy in Abyssinia. Mr. Rey is frankly unsympathetic to priests who would trouble the local Abyssinians with the problem of reunion, and would even venture to stir once more to life the old controversies between Catholic and Monophysite. At times it is hard to blame him for his attitude. With the exception of Father Peter Paez, whose adventures are among the most romantic in the annals of Jesuit missionary endeavour, this Abyssinian mission, for which St. Ignatius himself had been the first volunteer, was singularly unfortunate in the priests who went out to represent the Roman claims. Barreto, the first Patriarch, never ventured further than India on his mission. Father Oviedo, who had been named as his Coadjutor and successor, was more courageous, and defied all manner of hardships and persecutions during the twenty years he spent in the country. Yet it is hard to believe that his militant attitude was the path of prudence. After the first six years, the Cardinal Prince Henry begged that Oviedo and his companions might be removed to Japan or China, " or somewhere else where they might do more good and make less noise." But the old man begged to be left on his ungrateful mission, and died in the end of sheer want. One of his letters to the Pope was written on the margins of his breviary, which he had cut off and sewn together to make paper on which to write.

Father Paez was appointed to the mission in 1587, but did not reach Abyssinia until 1603. In the interval he had wandered through many strange lands and had learnt many strange tongues, never once wavering in his purpose. Seven of those years were spent in captivity among the Moors, for a time in a cage, where he was maltreated by all who passed, and for the last twelve months as a galley-slave. Then came ransom, and the quest was renewed. Finally, disguised as an Armenian, Father Paez made his way through to the land of Prester John. Within the next twenty years he had achieved the almost impossible, and had won over the King himself to the Catholic faith. (Incidentally, he was the first European to reach the sources of the Nile). Death came at the moment of victory, and his work went to pieces within a few years more—mainly, so it would seem, through the indiscreet zeal of his successor, Affonso Mendez.

This last head of the mission had the full style and authority of Patriarch, and was able to count on the support of the newly converted King. But civil war was soon aflame ; the King fought

his way through opposition for some years, but in the end had to yield to the national spirit. Mendez and his fellow-missionaries, most of them at least, fled the country, and made one last appeal for help in Portuguese India. But their speech was all of arms and soldiers, and the old historian of the mission says drily that all who heard them " came to believe that the missionaries had introduced into their speech and all their conduct some of that martial humour only too natural to the Portuguese nation. They were convinced that the missionaries were not of those sheep who allow themselves to be led to the slaughter without complaint." As we read, our mind goes back to the first planning of this Jesuit campaign. What would have happened if Ignatius, not Oviedo, had been the first Jesuit to set foot in schismatic Abyssinia ? Would the military glory of Christovao da Gama, who died in the act of freeing Abyssinia from the Moslem, have been surpassed by a courage equal to his own in a nobler cause ? A. G.

PIONEER CATHOLIC JOURNALISM. By Paul J. Foik. *HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES.* Edited by T. J. Meehan, P. J. King and H. Ridder. New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1930. Pp. 231 and pp. 133.

THOMAS DONGAN. Governor of New York (1682-88). By J. H. Kennedy. Washington. 1930. Pp. 131.

THESE three volumes are interesting examples of the enterprise of the Catholic Church in America. It is a worthy undertaking to provide for the transmission to the present generation of the knowledge of the struggles of the previous ages to preserve the faith that had been handed on to it. Unless there is some organised effort much that is valuable must necessarily be lost.

The volume entitled *Pioneer Catholic Journalism* is a most interesting publication, not only to those primarily concerned with its subject, namely the Catholics of the United States, but to all Catholics—and especially to Irish Catholics, for the vast majority of the pioneers recorded in this book were of Irish origin. The list of papers and periodicals of every kind here given is an amazing revelation of the vigour of the faith that animated those protagonists of American Catholic Action. The Church had to struggle for her life against all sorts of adverse and malign forces—not always outside her own body. The newspaper enterprise in which she embarked was one of the great forces that enabled her to meet her enemies with success. In this work layman co-operated with clergyman. Among important names here mentioned may

be singled out those of Bishop England and of John Boyle O'Reilly.

The accounts given of both are interesting and on the whole full and accurate. Both of them would have been prominent figures in the life of any epoch by reason of their abounding energy and ability. Dr. England, before he was called on to put forth his strength in America, had given more than a taste of his quality here in Ireland in defence of a cause that was much the same as that to which he devoted his life as an American Bishop. The good summary of his activities here given omits one of his most distinctive works accomplished in Ireland, viz., his *School Primer of Irish History* (Cork, 1815), which was described by Archbishop Magee in evidence before a Committee of the House of Lords as " a monstrous book," written in " language that must have been injurious to the young mind and in a way accessible to the meanest capacity." The literary qualities shown in this book Dr. England never lost, and his powerful journalistic capacity never flaggged in defence of his Church in his new home.

A most remarkable aspect of Catholic journalism in America is given in connection with the curious " trustee " movement, which was such a menace for a period to Church interests, especially in Philadelphia and its vicinity. Here again the vigour of Catholic Activist journalism manifested itself in its might. The book contains a very entertaining and informative account of this movement and of the measures by which it was overthrown.

The second book mentioned above consists of a series of papers on various aspects of Catholic America's history. One paper deals with the life of Blessed Isaac Jogues, S.J., whose heroic life may well be revered by others than members of his creed. Francis Parkman, among others, has written of him in terms of the highest eulogy. The account here given is a useful supplement to those already existing.

Another very interesting paper may be mentioned, that by Grace Sherwood on " The Beginnings of Government in Maryland." This Catholic colony deserves special mention and honour in the records of colonial enterprise on account of the tolerance its government displayed in an age when tolerance was by no means a fashionable virtue. The writer has examined the contemporary documents, and is thus enabled to present many vivid details of the organisation of this model colony.

Father Kennedy's book on Thomas Dongan, Governor of New York, is a very good example of research work in history—the proper culmination of a university course in historical studies.

The period of Dongan's governership was a critical one in the life of the young state. The Governor was a statesman who antedated by a long period the age in which such qualities as he possessed might have had a chance of succeeding. His virtues as a statesman were long ignored by reason of the blight of religious and despotic bigotry that marked the years that followed his time. Dongan,who came of a Kildare family, was great as a statesman and great as a man. Fr. Kennedy's little thesis makes an adequate foundation for a fuller study of a life devoted to the highest ideals.

All three books, we may repeat, are creditable to the public spirit of American Catholic institutions, and one would like to see a similar enterprise in operation here at home.

W. J. W.

Philosophy

PHILOSOPHY OF VALUE. An Essay in Constructive Criticism. By Leo Richard Ward, C.S.C., University of Notre Dame. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1930. Pp. vii+263. 7s. 6d.

THIS work, excellent both in matter and style, is an important contribution to a subject which is now in the forefront of philosophical discussion. It is partly critical, partly constructive. It reviews the conceptions and theories regarding value in current literature, especially in America and England. The field of literature is here very large; and nowhere is the confusion of terminology greater. This results, as we should expect, in many disputes which are largely verbal; but it contributes also to much unclear speculation and much false philosophy.

Dr. Ward's critical survey is a very attractive and able piece of work. His analysis of the theories of many prominent writers fails to find any clear and consistent notion of value. "Value, valuer, valuing, object of value, valuation process, are arbitrarily interchanged." Most of the definitions given are verbal or circular. He rightly concludes that the only way to escape from all this confusion, and the only sound method of dealing with the subject, is to set out by giving an adequate account of the different elements actually involved in the value situation. Only after having distinguished these different elements is it possible to set up sound definitions and to attain clarity of view.

In the modern literature on value two doctrines are widely held: first, that value is created by the valuer; second, that value is independent of the existence of the thing valued. The latter proposition is the more important and far-reaching, especially

in its bearings on philosophy of religion. Here it is not a question of a verbal dispute, but of a real issue of fundamental importance. The clear discussion of this issue in the present work is one of its most valuable features.

The former proposition, on the other hand, has greater plausibility ; and the issue here is to some extent verbal. It is a natural way of speaking to say that vogue, desire, demand confer value. The author's analysis of the value-situation does, in fact, bring out the element of truth in this view.

The constructive part of the work is documented throughout by references to St. Thomas's discussions on the Good. The value situation supposes an agent, a need in the agent, and a desirable quality in the object. Value is the capacity of an existent object to be the end of action. It is in the object, not in the agent, the action, the need, or the relation between agent and object. The value-relation between the agent as desiring and the desirable quality in the object is a logical-real relation pointing to the object. The quality in the object, without reference to the need in the agent, would be a static value. Its becoming a functional value depends on the need, desire or appreciation of the agent. Instead of saying that these create the value, it is more correct to say that they make functional values which were previously static. Another sense in which we " create values " is by attributing to things qualities which they have not, but which we think they have. J. S.

ALLGEMEINE HEILPÆDAGOGIK. Von Dr. Linus Bopp, Professor an der Universität zu Freiburg im Breisgau. Freiburg : Herder. 1930. Pp. ix+424. M. 8.80.

THE appearance of this work is an indication of the increasing importance of Curative Pedagogy and of the extent to which it has been developed, especially in Germany. It is the first comprehensive and systematic handbook that has appeared on the subject. A model of orderly and lucid exposition, it surveys and condenses a vast amount of literature. The full bibliographical references at the head of each chapter are a very useful guide to the student.

The range of the subject is extended, in the author's view, not only to intellectual and ethical defectiveness and disturbances of the emotional character, but also to deficiencies in sensibility, disturbances in speech, and deformity. The close relation of curative pedagogy to normal pedagogy and to medicine is brought out ; also its relation to the modern developments in psychology

which deal with the study of individuality, with psychical types and characterology, and with intelligence tests. The importance of the subject for pastoral work and for practical jurisprudence is shown. The religious aspect of education generally, and particularly of curative education, is strongly emphasized.

A chapter on the history of the practice and theory of curative education gives an interesting and learned survey of the subject in pagan antiquity, in the Old and New Testament, in the early Christian Church, in the Middle Ages, and in modern times.

The greatest care is taken to arrive at a classification of defectives which would be the most satisfactory from the points of view of scientific accuracy, surveyability and practical usefulness. Three main classes are distinguished: (1) the weak-minded; (2) those of normal intellectual endowment, but of defective ethical sense arising from external causes, such as environment; (3) cases of hindrances in mental or ethical reference, arising from defects of the senses or of speech, from deformity, neuropathy or psychopathy. These two notions are analysed fully and their various causes, especially in childhood and youth, are discussed; the various types of each are described and the methods of treatment indicated.

The second part of the book deals first with the special qualities and qualifications required in those who are charged with the training of defectives. The goal to be aimed at in education generally, and especially in curative education, is admirably explained. Then follows a lengthy treatment of the special methods to be followed in regard to the training of intellect, feeling and will. The final chapter deals with organization of curative pedagogy and gives, among other things, an account of the development of "auxiliary schools" in Germany. J. S.

International Studies

LES GRANDS PROBLEMES INTERNATIONAUX DE L'HEURE PRESENTE. Paris: Editions Spes. 1930. 15 fr.

LE DROIT INTERNATIONAL, LA SOCIETE DES NATIONS ET LES TRAITES DE PAIX. By Georges Renard. Paris: Editions Spes. 1930. 2 fr. 50.

THE recent formation in Ireland of a group or section of the Catholic Union of International Studies lends interest to the first of these books, which is also the first that has been published under the auspices of that organisation. It consists of the seven lectures delivered by leading Catholic authorities at the first

Catholic International Week, which was held at Geneva from the 16th to the 22nd September, 1929, and which had been organised by the C.U.I.S. just referred to.

The object of the Week was to set forth Catholic teaching on the problems of an international character which are occupying men's minds at the present time. The lecturers, however, do not deal with disarmament and security, reparations and minority rights. Their concern is with the much more fundamental principles that are at stake in the new world that has come into being since the Great War. It will be enough to enumerate the subjects of the lectures :—1. The Catholic Teaching on Marriage and the Family, by Père de la Brière, S.J. 2. The Main Problems of Education, by Mgr. Beaupin. 3. Patriotism and National Duties, by Gonzague de Reynold, President of the C.U.I.S. 4. Catholicism and the Problems of Labour, by Joseph Danel. 5. Catholicism and Civilisation, by Père de Munnynck, O.P., of Fribourg University. 6. Catholicism and International Order, by Père Delos, O.P. 7. Catholic Doctrine and the Meaning of Life, by Mgr. Besson, Bishop of Geneva.

One notices at once in the lectures the absence of vague and "woolly" thinking and of windy rhetoric. Each lecture is based on solid doctrine and abundant "documentation." The subjects are dealt with in the light of present conditions and with a view to the world as it actually is. The result is a body of doctrine which will be of great value to students of international questions.

The international character of the Week is well indicated by the names of those who presided at the different lectures. Thus the chair was taken at the second by Prof. J. M. O'Sullivan, at the third by Count Carton de Wiart, a Belgian Minister, at the fourth by Frau Lang-Brumann, a member of the Reichstag, at fifth by Count Cavazzoni, Senator of Italy, at the sixth by the Polish Count Rostworowsky, and at the seventh by Count Apponyi of Hungary. The Union now consists of twelve national groups, including Germany, Austria, and Hungary. A review of its history and work is given by Mgr. Beaupin in an introductory chapter of this book.

Professor Renard's little brochure is in substance an application of the theory of the institution to International Law, the League of Nations and the Peace Treaties. It is at once lucid and popular in exposition and sheds much light on three difficult subjects that have given rise to a great deal of muddled thinking and passionate controversy.

S. J. B.

Books received

ADAMSON, JOHN W. English Education, 1789-1902. (Cambridge Press, 21/-).
AIGRAIN, ABBE R. Liturgia. Encyclopédie populaire des connaissances liturgiques. (Bloud & Gay, 57 fr.).
AMANN, PROFESSOR. The Church of the Early Centuries. (Sands, 3/6).
ARON, MARGUERITE Un animateur de la jeunesse au XIIIe siècle. (Desclée De Brouwer, 20 fr.).
BELL, BISHOP G. K. Mysterium Christi. Christological Studies by British and German Theologians. (Longmans, 15/-).
BIARD, JOSEPH ... Les Dons du Saint Esprit. (Aubanel Fils Ainé, 22 fr.).
BOEHMER, HEINRICH. Luther and the Reformation in the light of Modern Research. (Bell, 15/-).
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ALFRED T. COLLINS, ESQ., General Manager.

AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, ESQ., Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street.

HEAD OFFICE—COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 28th day of July, 1930.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1930, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ...	£53,189 11 8
To which has to be added:— Balance of undivided profits from last Account	25,192 10 7
	£78,382 2 3
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of ...	£10,000 0 0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows viz.:—	
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Twelve and a half per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	31,250 0 0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	5,000 0 0
To next Account	32,132 2 3
	£78,382 2 3

The Reserve Fund now stands at £680,000

By Order of the Board,
ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 14th July, 1930.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1930. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
Capital, viz. :—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000 : amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000	0	0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	525,192	10	7
Reserve Fund	680,000	0	0	,, Investments, viz. :—			
Bank's Consolidated Notes in Circulation	388,527	0	0	War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans and other Government Stocks ...	5,752,925	13	7
Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	11,575,645	14	3	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and other Securities	227,655	11	3
Sundry Agents	93,761	8	2		6,505,773	15	5
Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	8,423	3	11	,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	6,580,993	15	1
Profit and Loss Account ... £78,382 2 3				,, Sundry Agents	7,835	4	5
Less : Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0				,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	220,136	13	8
	68,382	2	3				
	£13,314,739	8	7		£13,314,739	8	7

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 30th June, 1930.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	103,711	4	0	By Balance from last Account ...	25,192	10	7
Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000	0	0	,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	156,900	15	8
Dividend to be paid in August, 1930, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... 31,250 0 0							
Bank Premises Acct. 5,000 0 0							
Balance to next Acct. 32,132 2 3							
	68,382	2	3				
	£182,093	6	3		£182,093	6	3

AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have quired in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing ofit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on th June, 1930, is in excess of the amount at which they stand the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in nd at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's airs according to the best of my information and the explanaons given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company d the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
UBLIN, 14th July,, 1930. Chartered Accountant, Auditor

MARTIN F. MAHONY
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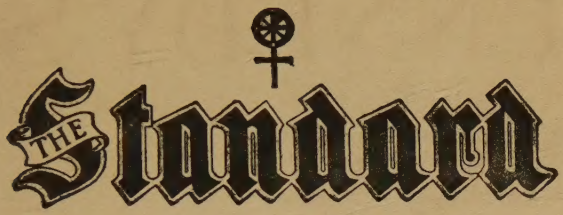

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